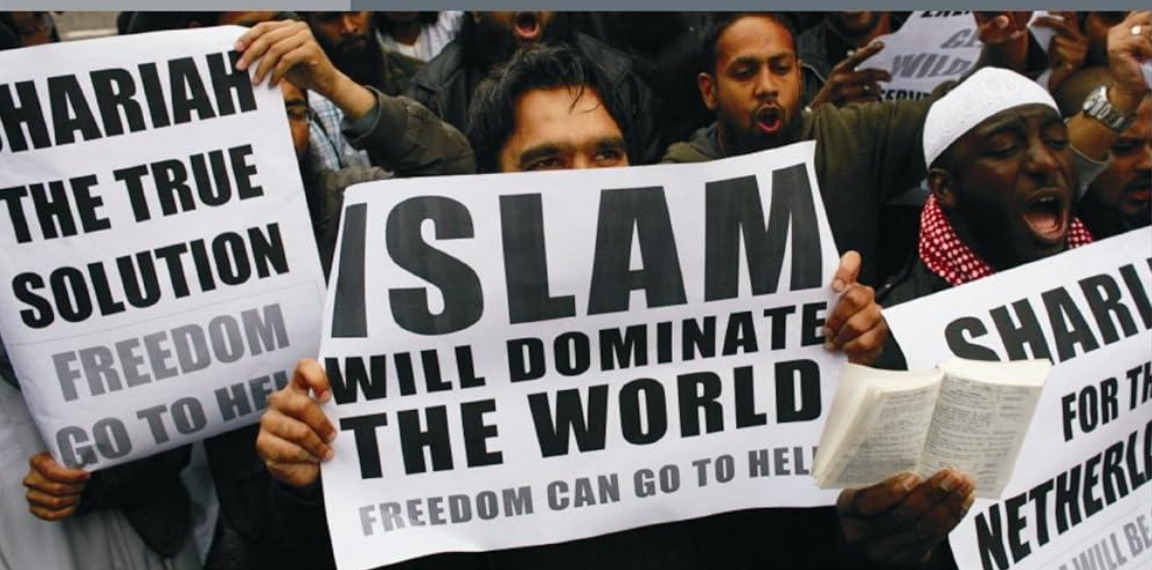
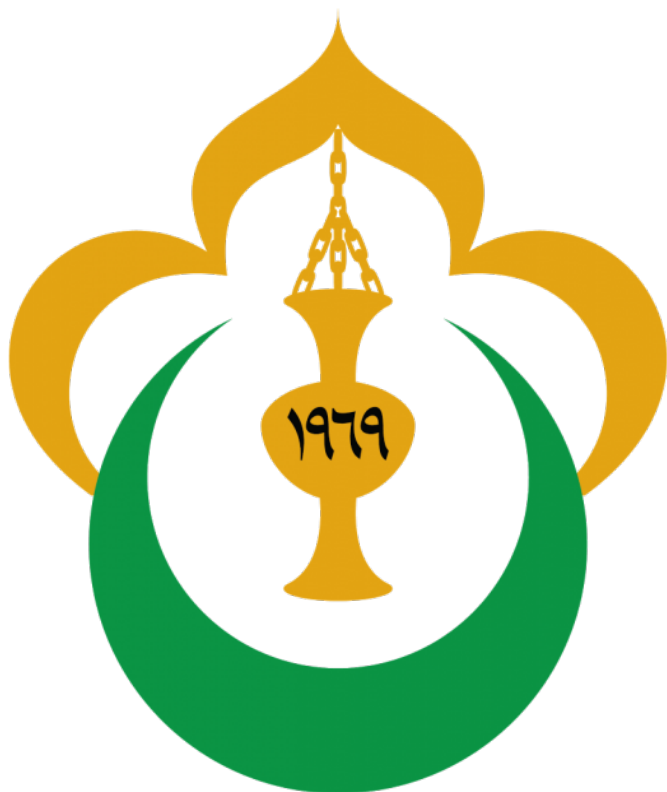


Herdi Sahrasad & Al Chaidar

& ISLAMISM FUNDAMENTALISM



University of Malikussaleh Press



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ISLAMISM & FUNDAMENTALISM

Herdi Sahrasad & Al Chaidar

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PREFACE

*T*his book is a collection of treatises in variety of public discussions and seminars which previously were scattered everywhere. Thoroughly and patiently, the treatises that we can read and contemplate are recorded, their hoping of giving lessons and wisdom for readers.

The book about Islamism and Fundamentalism reveals the social currents among Muslims, religion and pluralism in the era of the Medina State, Islamic radicalism and fundamentalist thoughts that characterize some landscapes in Indonesia, Southeast Asia, even the world at the beginning of this century.

Of course, people will not be able to appreciate the contribution of this book without understanding its social context, space and time in which the various fundamental issues are explored in this book, including how the radical Islamists bring their ideas to the surface and public spaces.

Written clearly and brightly, this book provides important information about the battle of ideas between fundamental Islam versus liberal Islam, Islamic radicalism in Southeast Asia and the lessons and wisdom from the Medina State in the context of the Indonesian Muslims' life in the early 21st century.

Regarding the book *Islamism and Fundamentalism*, there are four chapters. The first chapter elaborates the SM Kartosoewirjo's movements and Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia. This treatise

was once presented in a seminar in the American Institute for Indonesian Studies (AIFIS) Jakarta May 15, 2012. The second chapter is about fundamentalism, the West and we, a treatise which was presented in a public discussion in the Indonesian Democracy Monitor (Indemo) forum Jakarta March 1, 2000. The third chapter is about Islamic fundamentalism and democracy, a treatise which is a revision of the basic ideas ever presented at a public seminar "Terrorism Genealogy in Indonesia" organized by the Student Executive Board, department of Sociology, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta November 4, 2010 and also at the faculty of social and Political Sciences, Malikussaleh University, Lhok Seumawe, Aceh in early March 2009. The fourth chapter is revision on a treatise about the Medina State, reflections on religion and pluralism, which has already been revised, and its basic ideas was once presented for public discussion among Muslim communities in Berkeley, California at the end of March 2012, and it also had previously been presented in the Banten Student forum in Serang great mosque, Banten early August 2000.

This book is the result of the collaboration of two writers, Herdi Sahrasad and Al Chaidar. *First*, the treatises were written when Herdi Sahrasad did a research at the Center for Islam and State Studies, University of Paramadina Jakarta (since 2005), Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore (2005 and 2007), Southeast Asian Center, University of Washington Seattle on the courtesy of Prof. Laurie Sears, and the Department of Political Science University of California Berkeley on Prof. M. Steven Fish's courtesy

(February-April 2012). *Second*, the treatises written by Al Chaidar when doing research at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of Malikussaleh Aceh (since 2004), Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) Singapore (2002) and University of Frankfurt, Germany (2003), Kobe & Hiroshima, Japan (1999/2000), and when he was a student, S-1 and S-2, at the faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of Indonesia, Jakarta until 2000.

This book is published in cooperation between University of Malikussaleh, Founding Fathers House and Freedom Foundation, Jakarta. All the criticism and corrections on this book are expected to come from dear readers, and thereby the criticism and corrections will be included as an improvement in the next edition. Thank you and enjoy reading.

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SM KARTOSOEWIRJO, RADICAL ISLAM AND IMAGINED CALIPHATE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: DISCOURSE, ACTION AND AGENDA¹

Reconstructing the Southeast Asia as a regional community is actually not a simple matter. Because, at the same time, the indicators of integration meet other indicators that actually show the disintegration of the region. High diversity characterizes the region. Nevertheless, the fact that there are broad similarities makes this region remain valid seen as an entity.²

This kind of characteristic cannot be ignored in understanding the dynamics of Islam in Southeast Asia. Although Islam is the religion of the majority of the region, the diversity is very prominent. Southeast Asian Muslims, cannot be understood simply as a majority religion typology in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Brunei Darussalam, or, on the contrary, as a prototype of religion minority in the Philippines, Singapore, Cambodia and Vietnam. Diversity became very prominent in every country that is

¹. This monograph is a revision of the writer's paper, "Kekhalifahan Islam di Asia Tenggara: Wacana, Aksi dan Agenda Islam Radikal dan Fundamental, Realitas atau Utopia?," *Journal of Falsafah & Agama*, Paramadina University, No.1, Vol.1, April 2007.

² The difficulty of developing the concept of Southeast Asia as a study was well described by Benedict Anderson, *Hantu Komparasi: Nasionalisme, Asia Tenggara dan Dunia*, (*Ghost Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and World*), (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2002).

almost difficult to find a com-mon thread that weave the development of Muslims in Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asian Islam, Colonialism and Politics

Colonial politics which had been divided Southeast Asia regions into the colonial powers brought a huge influence on the development of Islam in Southeast Asia. Firstly, the intense interaction between the Islamic community in each region of Asia Tenggara declines, due to the different colonial states. The dynamics of the Straits of Malacca, for example, divided and torn between Sumatra controlled by Dutch and the Malay Peninsula ruled by Great Britain. Muslim communities in Pattani was also not able to develop an intense interaction with other Muslims in the peninsula of Malaysia, which ruled by England. The same situation happened to Muslims in the southern Philippines. This Division led to the cessation of the trade activities among Muslim regions and other socio-cultural exchanges.

Second, because of the different approach taken by each of the colonial state, the dynamics of Islam grow increasingly diverse, some-times unrelated. In this context, the Dutch apparently pressed more strongly against the Islamic opposition forces. They who rekindled the spirit of Islam to resist received the harshest military resistance, as in Aceh War and the Jawa War led by Diponegoro. The aspirations of Islamic groups in the colonial institutions are also very limited. Little accommodation is only provided for the establishment of *Inlandsche Kantoort voor Zaken* (Office of Religious

Affairs), devoted to registration of marriage for Muslims and donation for religious use affairs. In short, as formulated by Snouck Hurgronje, the founder of Dutch East Indies political Islam, the Netherlands would take a neutral stance against "Islamic Ritual" including aspects related to marriage and inheritance (for those reasons the government opened native affairs office) and would press strongly against the "social political Islam".³

The severe repression was able to become a very powerful incentive for modernization and nationalism in Indonesia. Perhaps from the experience of ever being suffered from defeats during the nineteenth century and earlier, a new Muslim generation of the twenty-first century dared to begin elaborating an Islamic doctrine in the modern context. So, some more modern Muslim organizations were born and new ideas began blossoming, such as "Islam and socialism", as described by HOS Tjokroaminoto, "Islam and nationalism" as developed by Soekarno, Hatta, and so on. In short, the Dutch colonial violence became a very strong impetus for the emergence of new forms of Islamic movements in Indonesia in the early 20th century.⁴

A very strong repression was also felt by the Muslim minority in the Philippines. The struggle of Muslim Mindanao and the Sulu Sultanate since the 16th century, should end up with tragic: recog-

³ About Dutch East Indies political Islam, see H.Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), p.9-98.

⁴ About Islamic modern movements in Indonesia in the early twentieth century, see Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973).

nizing the sovereignty of Spain. In the midst of the struggle with colonialism, the agenda of the Muslim community in the Philippines became very heavy. The struggle to get a space to run religion beliefs and traditions was very difficult because they must collide with the interests of the colonial approaches that rely on military repression. As a result, the Muslim community responses to colonialism is more dominated by the violent response. This situation did not change much when the United States emerged as a new colonial power in the Philippines in the early twentieth century. Sustainability of a very long oyster repression making the development of Islam in the Philippines is marked by the tradition of violence. They do not have time to develop more powerful ideas, whether in relation to response to modernism or the relationship between religion and state, like their counterparts in Indonesia.

Although not experiencing the process of colonialism, the development of Muslims in Southern Thailand is almost similar to the Philippines. They have become a minority in the state structure of Buddhism. In addition, the very strong religion and tradition relationship with Malay has made their relation with Thai government become a really dilemmatic. The Relation between Muslims in southern Thailand and Bangkok's central government is almost never in harmony. ⁵

In short, in both countries, the Muslim minorities hardly feel at home. They wrestle with the desire for autonomy in order to get

⁵ Surin Pitsuwan, *Islam di Muangthai: Nasionalisme Melayu Masyarakat Patani* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989), p. 68-72.

space to run their religion and traditions. Meanwhile, the struggle must rub against the political line of the country.

British political Islam against the society of North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula seemed more friendly than the Netherlands' in Indonesia or Spain's in the Philippines. The control pattern taken by British was not direct, by capturing the position of sultans who ruled in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, allowed the British prefer a non-political interference on religion and Malay traditions. All religious and cultural developments in were fully devolved to the sultans who ruled. This political line defended by the British with a very tight, so that, as said by Khoo Kay Kim,

"There was, in fact, no evidence of a major conflict between Islam and the British administration..."⁶

This success is an achievement for England. Because, through a non-political intervention, UK could minimize the resistance movement based on religion. In that context also, the history of British colonialism in Malaysia was almost not much colored by the heroic resistance, such as in Indonesia. In this matter, the "Malay nationalism" finds a strange form. Nationalism is not buffeted by tensions of colonial structures, but by the horizontal nature of ethnic tensions, especially the relations with the Chinese community. This is where we find "different ways" with the development of the idea of nationalism in Indonesia.

⁶Khoo Kay Kim, "Islam: a View of the Pre-1941 Scenario" in *Malay Society: Transformation and Democratization* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications, 1995), p. 209.

Third, the permanence of colonialism makes the Muslim community in the Southeast Asia regional sentiment practically lost. Each is involved in a domestic agenda in a very long time so that each Muslim worldview seems inward-looking. Modern Islamic movements in Indonesia for instance practically have no regional orientation. NU and Muhammadiyah, for example, although the figures of both movements have relatively regional friendship networks, the format of their Islamic movement remains nationally oriented. The same thing happens in Malaysia. They tend to develop Islamic views that are adjusted with their own national views.

Southeast Asia Islamic world which has ever debuted in pre-colonial period suffered very tragic divisions by colonialism. With different words, DJM Tate mentioned "The Deviding of the Malaysian World".⁷

The consequence of this division is that the development of Islam among the areas becomes highly segmental. Each is involved in local agendas that have persisted for a long time. It looks more inward-looking or domestic oriented. Regional sentiments become something rare tackled by a very strong cultural block. Such developments are still felt very strong.

It should be noted that Islam in Southeast Asia for more than seven centuries of its presence have been influenced by certain colors and patterns that create a distinctive local culture of South-

⁷ D.J.M. Tate, *The Making of Modern Southeast Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 101.

east Asia and became the most important factor affecting the history of nations in the region. Although Southeast Asia is geographically peripheral regions of the Muslim world where Islam entered through peaceful cooptation process that persisted for centuries, Islam is a factor that strengthens the national bond of nations in this region, especially when dealing with the forces of Western colonialism.⁸

However, if we reconstruct the society Southeast Asia as a region where Islam involves and gives many influences, it is really not easy. That's because the indicators of integration meet the other indicators that actually shows the disintegration of the region. High diversity characterizes the region. Nevertheless, the fact that there are broad similarities makes this region remain valid seen as a regional entity.⁹

This kind of characteristic cannot be ignored in understanding the dynamics of Islam in Southeast Asia. Although Islam is the religion of the majority of the region, the diversity is very prominent. Southeast Asian Muslims, cannot be understood simply as a

⁸ Although Islam in Southeast Asia is called by orientalist and scholars of Islam as the Islamic periphery (not mainstream), It proves that this religion is one of source values and inspiration of local political forces in facing Western colonialism. See, Fred R.von der Mehden, *Religion and Natioalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Al Chaidar, *Wacana Ideologi Negara Islam, Studi Harakah Darul Islam dan Moro National Liberation Front* (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2000), 2nd edition.

⁹ The difficulty of developing the concept of Southeast Asia as an entity of study is described by Benedict Anderson, *Hantu Komparasi: Nasionalisme, Asia Tenggara dan Dunia* (translated from *Ghost Comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and World*, (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2002), p. 426.

majority religion typology in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Brunei Darussalam, or, on the contrary, as a prototype of religion minority in the Philippines, Singapore, Cambodia and Vietnam. Diversity became very prominent in every country that is almost difficult to find a common thread that weave the development of Muslims in Southeast Asia. Whereas in pre-colonial period the region had come together in extensive trade and religion.

Pre-colonial era can be designated as a period in which Islam in Southeast Asia has become the determinant factor for the development of political economy and socio culture in the region. That is, primarily, driven by the process of Islamisation that took place peacefully, going hand in hand with the interregional trade. Here we can not ignore the role of Muslim traders who not only enlivened local economic activities but also spread the Islamic teachings.¹⁰

Islam began to spread in semenjung Malaya and only deal with the Thai Buddhist culture in mainland of Southeast Asia. Islam spread its wings to the eastern side of the islands and even to the islands called the southern Philippines today. Here, its progress was halted by the arrival of the Spaniards in Manila which conquered them, with its Catholic mission.¹¹

¹⁰ About the roles of Muslim traders in spreading Islam in South East Asia, see for example, J.V. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, 1960), p. 91-117.

¹¹ Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Shiddique, Yasmin Hussain, *Islam di Asia Tenggara: Perspektif Sejarah*, (transl. A Setiawan Abadi from *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*) (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989), p. 2.

How to understand Islam in Southeast Asia? The key word is complexity. This happens because the presence of Islam in Southeast Asia had to deal with the Hindu tradition that had already been established, especially Hindu-Buddhist teachings that had been accepted widely in Southeast Asia before. Islam is not the only major religion that is growing in Southeast Asia. Moreover, the growing patterns of Islam has undergone a complex process of syncretizing along with the history of the arrival of other major religions—like Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. These religions leave deposits that are difficult to discern, that is a strong compound among religious traditions, which probably has no equal in other areas. Therefore, Islam is not significant when considered only as "a thin layer that gets peeled off" as the colonial defined it.¹²

One of the great contribution of Islam in Southeast Asia is its role in creating a strong and resilient maritime nation. Here the presence of Islamic teaching met the needs of the small countries along the coast-line to build a new power system or the needs of rural states that have undergone a process of absorbing Indianization to absorb the coastal political economy dynamics which is not capable of being provided by the old authorities. In other words, the contribution of Islam in Southeast Asia for the establishment of the country actually takes two types. First, Islam completely determines the establishment of an Islamic state and its traditions.

¹² This conclusion is taken by the Dutch kolonial government when colonializing Indonesia in the late 19 century. See the commentary from Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Here, Islam provides a way out how state power was built outside the local boundaries so that they can lay the ground-work for the empire. As the emergence of Samudera Pasai, Darusalaam Aceh, Banten, Gowa-Tallo, Sulu, Maguindanau, Ternate kingdom, and so on. Secondly, Islam undergoes a process of structural accommodation with the state system that had previously been structured based on Hinduism or Buddhism traditions. The most striking example is the kingdom of Mataram-Islam or the Kingdom of Malacca.¹³

Although, at the time, every Islamic country was involved in the struggle for hegemony, until the eve of the entry of Western influence, there was no Muslim-majority state in Southeast Asia that could emerge as a hegemonic power. Southeast Asia remained characterized by a diversity of nations and states, whatever its shape and type. However, it should be noted that in the middle of the competition among Muslim political powers, economic activity in the area of trade continued to grow and develop. As Anthony Reid said, "The explosion of the market in the sixteenth century affected not only Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, but also China and Japan."¹⁴

Although, at the time, every Islamic country was involved in the struggle for hegemony, until the eve of the entry of Western

¹³ See Taufik Abdullah, "Islam dan Pembentukan Tradisi di Asia Tenggara: Sebuah Perspektif Perbandingan" in the book he edited along with Sharon Siddique, *Islam di Asia Tenggara: Perspektif Sejarah*, p.70.

¹⁴ Anthony Reid, *Dari Ekspansi hingga Krisis: Jaringan Perdagangan Global Asia Tenggara 1450-1680* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1999), p. 1.

influence, there was no Muslim-majority state in Southeast Asia that could emerge as a hegemonic power. Southeast Asia remained characterized by a diversity of nations and states, whatever its shape and type. However, it should be noted that in the middle of the competition among Muslim political powers, economic activity in the area of trade continued to grow and develop. As Anthony Reid said, "The explosion of the market in the sixteenth century affected not only Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, but also China and Japan."

The broad market and vast natural resources attracted Western traders to enter the Southeast Asian region at first. However, the West entered the region, not merely for trade purposes. Political and religious interests that followed made the arrival of the West spark prolonged controversy in Southeast Asia. The major milestone of Western presence was the fall of the Malacca caused by Portuguese attack in 1511. Since then, Western countries intensified the tension to present in any political economy matters in Southeast Asia. And, the further engagement marked the birth of the colonialism era. Since then, the Islam in Southeast Asia is divided into colonialism partitions.

One of the several key factors that attracted colonial powers in Southeast Asia is, of course, trade. Spices was the most popular commodity in Europe. European society used them as medicinal herbs, cooking flavour, and also as a preservative. The commodity demand increased dramatically as the more advanced and rapid expansion of markets in Europe during the Crusades.

Spices, especially pepper, in that days only became the monopoly of Arab and Indian traders for West Asia and Indian Ocean regions. Genoa in the Mediterranean was monopolized by Italian merchants. Because of the scarcity of supply and the difficulties of long journey from the islands of spices, they set a very high price upon their arrival in Europe. Attracted by the very colossal profits, Spain and Portugal then planned to dominate the spice trade. This plan was followed by the Netherlands, Britain and France. And, of course, the areas that became a bone of contention were the centers of the spice trade in Southeast Asia such as Malacca, Makasar, Maluku and so on.

Unfortunately, the arrival of European traders was not solely motivated by economic trade. They had other ideals, the "civilizing" for the Southeast Asian community. Spanish and Portuguese then translated into an effort to introduce Catholic in Southeast Asia. Although to a lesser extent, the same thing was done by the French, Dutch and English.

This was where the complexity of the problem occurred. Unlike the advent of Islam that was peaceful, their missions filled with tension, since the missions were done with the escort of coercion trade and weapons. Not surprisingly, since the beginning, the arrival of the West always caused confrontation from the Islamic countries of Southeast Asia. The first open confrontation was the fall of Malacca under Portuguese in 1511.

Since then the presence of Western countries in Southeast Asia was almost unstoppable. Through a series of political and economic

intrigue as well as taking advantage of the rivalry between the Islamic kingdom in Southeast Asia, slow but sure the presence of European countries was increasingly dominant. The history of Southeast Asia since the 17-18 centuries has showed how the resistance, alliances and tensions were very complicated. However, through technological excellence and strategy, one by one Islamic countries in Southeast Asia fell in the arms of colonialism.¹⁵

Entering the nineteenth and twentieth century, European colonialism in Southeast Asia found almost its intact form. Here the Southeast Asia region was divided by colonial countries. Netherlands got a small area of the Dutch East Indies. British controlled over the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo. France got Vietnam and Cambodia. While the Spanish and later American, got the Philippines. Each colonial state developed its own policy towards the territories under their control, including also the Muslim community.

This colonialism has sparked many resistences and dissonant voices from Islamist groups in Southeast Asia, and especially in Indonesia, for instance, the birth of Darul Islam (DI-Islamic State) could be traced historically to the struggle of Muslim against the colonialism/imperialism.

¹⁵ The description about the fall of Islamic countries in Southeast Asia, See for example, D.J.M. Tate, *The Making of Modern Southeast Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 101-307.

Indonesian Darul Islam and Politics

During the struggle for Indonesian independence, Darul Islam is one of the militant Islamic warrior groups who has commitment and ideology to setup Negara Islam Indonesia (Indonesia Islamic State), and its influence among the Indonesian muslims is still strong.

Imagination about Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia is actually a continuation of the struggle of Darul Islam (Daulah Islamiyah-NII) row and its networks that seek to establish Daulah Islamiyah in Indonesia as evidenced by the emergence of the phenomenon of the Islamic State of Indonesia 1949-1962.¹⁶ Ideological and political evolution of the DI movement becomes clearer when the idea of international Islam caliphate again conceived and articulated by DI activists and Indonesian Mujahidin Council movement, as discussed above.

¹⁶About this paper, see, Herdi Sahrasad, "Kekhalifahan Islam di Asia Tenggara: Wacana, Aksi dan Agenda Islam Radikal dan Fundamental: Realitas atau Utopia?", *Journal of Falsafah dan Agama*, Vol. 1, No.1, April 2007, p.105-129. Many scholars' interpretation about Darul Islam movement generally does not relate to the attempt of this organization to establish regional and international network under one Islam caliphate stretching from Marocco to Merauke, From West Europe to Southeast Asia. See, Al Chaidar 'Konsepsi *Nation and Character Building* dalam Pemikiran SM Kartosuwirjo: Reinterpretasi dan Redefinisi Makna Integrasi Bangsa'', *paper* for History Seminar in Indonesia University, Depok, 1999 and Muntasir Alwi & Arif Fadillah, *Aplikasi Islam dalam Wilayah Kuadran, Rumusan Dasar Teoretis, Praksis dan Revolusioner Adaptasi Mukimin terhadap Kondisi-Kondisi Negara*, (Jakarta: Pillars Press, 2005).

Kartosoewirjo, Daulah Islamiyah leader, in a meeting with Serikat Islam activists and DI in Cisayong West Java in 1948¹⁷, articulated the importance of the establishment of the World Council of Imamate and Caliphate of Islam in Southeast Asia as a symbol of the successor to the leadership of an international Islamic Caliphate after the fall of Ottoman in Turkey. Kartosoewirjo continued the idea of HOS Tjokroaminoto, a leading leader of Sarekat Islam (SI), who had announced the importance of the International Islamic Caliphate in various Muslim international meetings in Mecca and Medina in 1926. It was also Tjokroaminoto who injected the SI organization with contemporary political ideas based on his journey and experiences in Middle East. To some degree, Tjokroaminoto influenced by Islamic Caliphate and Pan-Islamism ideas, through Islamic reformers such as Jamaluddin Al-Ghani (1839-1897), Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Ridha. And he taught all of his political students, included Kartosoewirjo, "Islam and Socialism", in which Tjokroaminoto intended to adapt Islamic principles to this new doctrine in resisting Dutch/Western colonialism.¹⁸

¹⁷ The writer got the Darul Islam document related its vision, mission, program and agenda of Islam caliphate in southeast Asia in the Dutch colonial era from Al Chaidar and Muhammad Muntasir. That 1948 DI document was nearly a year before the NII movement was proclaimed in 1949, inialized the idea of Islamic chaliphate in southeast Asia. It mentioned that DI had intention to build Islam caliphate in Southeast Asia after the fall of Ottoman caliphate and no international caliphate that could become an institution and symbol for unity in one *ummah* to face West colonialism hegemony.

¹⁸ About history of Sarekat Islam, see Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 365. See also, Andree Feillard & Remy Madinier, *The End of Innocence*,

In this case, it is important to underline that H.O.S. Tjokro-aminoto, the teacher of Kartosoewirjo, (also Sukarno and Semaun-Muso), suggested and encouraged in meetings with international Muslim in Mecca and Medina in 1926 the importance of the formation of the new Islamic Caliphate after the fall of Ottoman Caliphate in Istanbul, Turkey. However, none of the Islamic world leaders, including the Saudi King, was ready to become the caliph as the institutional and symbolic power of Muslims around the world. So, Tjokro-aminoto offered the international Muslims that Indonesia should prepare to achieve an international Islamic Caliphate, at least in Southeast Asia. The ideas and inspiration were then articulated and implemented by Kartosoewirjo with the Darul Islam movement, which later made the archipelago tumultuous. Kartosoewirjo realized that, just as understandably, the last Islamic Caliphate had been successfully destroyed by the Crusader-Zionist forces in Turkey during the Ottoman Caliph Abdul Hamid II around 1924. Therefore, since the collapse of the Islamic caliphate there was a vacuum of leadership in the Muslim world. The emptiness of Islamic caliphate has spawned serious implications for the existence of Muslims, such as the massacre of Muslims in almost all corners of the world without any meaningful resistance and the occupation of the enemy in the Holy Land of Islam. Therefore, in the perception of fundamental and radical Muslims, there is a belief that establishing caliphate is considered as the most dangerous by

Indonesian Islam and the Temptations of Radicalism, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), p. 336.

the Crusader-Zionist. The radical and fundamental Muslim realize that the West and the Crusader-Zionist around the world does not want the appearance of embryonic formation of the Islamic Caliphate.

According to Darul Islam activists¹⁹, for this reason, in the 21st century, the U.S. and its allies directly destroy Osama (bin Laden) and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Thus, the main reason the U.S. invasion in Afghanistan and other countries is not for economic reasons, such as oil pipelines, but more because of their fear (phobia) of the resurrection power of Muslims in this world. In fact, in the perception of transnational Islamists, the establishment of Islamic caliphate will provide peace and everlasting prosperity and progress, as they have been proven by the advance of the sciences in the first Islamic caliphate to which they learned, like in the era of Caliph Harun Al-Rashid who is famous in the story of 1001 nights.

Although the debate continues, the Medina State with the Charter of Medina and its Islamic Caliphate remained a source of value, inspiration and benchmark the *ummah* (civil society), including a radical and fundamental Muslim in seeing the greatness of Islam during the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) era in the past. Why would the Medina State be a longing and referral of Muslims in acting and worship? Because the leadership, morals and morality of the Prophet (PBUH) in building the civilization of the era become

¹⁹ An interview to DI activists, in Bekasi, December 10, 2011.

the supreme example in the eyes of Muslims in relation to both worldliness and power.²⁰

In the Islamic caliphate which refers to the era of Medina State and its caliphs, all activities of a Muslim at all meant as long as intended to God were worthy as worship to Allah SWT. Eating, drinking, studying in *darul ilmi*, working to find sustenance, sleeping with the wife, or other activities will be assessed as worship. And vice versa, although in the human eyes appeared as a religious or pious worships (prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, alms, charity, jihad, etc.), but based on the intention not for God, they were omnipotent, then the value is *nifaa* 'hypocrisy'.

In the era of the Medina State and caliphate it can be said that all the needs of the human soul, whether the needs for mind *e.i* science or biological needs such as sex and food can be met in areas that are relatively favorable—although the age of Medina State itself is a brief—, so that there was no single reason for the citizens of this region to violate the positive law of Islam.

In Medina, the Prophet banned “stealing” because the State guaranteed basic human needs, forbade to “commit adultery” because the marriage door was opened widely, forbade to “kill” with impunity because the human soul are protected by the state. Ethics considered taboo even in other communities—such as polygamy, having slaves (male and female) of former war prisoners—became

²⁰ Muntasir Alwi & Arif Fadillah, *Aplikasi Islam dalam Wilayah Kuadran, Rumusan Dasar Teoretis, Praksis dan Revolusioner Adaptasi Mukimin terhadap Kondisi-Kondisi Negara* (Jakarta: Pillars Press, 2005).

commonplace in the area that was “clean in the eyes of God’. That's why all the positive life event rated as worship in the State of Medina at that time.

However, it does not mean the State of Medina one hundred percent free from the elements of human hypocrisy, because no matter how the state was—including the 11 Islamic Shari'a is the absolute formal juridical, and the implementation process carried out officially by the government. However, violation of modesty conducted by stealth and left no evidence, will not be touched by the criminal law of Islam. In the historical experience of the Holy Prophet's *Daulah Islamiyah* (State of Medina), the criminals or bad moral agents (adulterers, drunkards, thieves, etc) were not all sentenced to stoning, flogging, or the cutting off of hands, unless he continually urged by the actors themselves to execute that criminal punishment soon. And it shows, in fact, there was no definition of 'Moral Police' in the Islamic State, in which the state formed the spy police unit who watched every personal behavior of the people. *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate) is a country that guarantees freedom of the individual, within the limits of the human soul. Personally/privately, the freedom can be said 'essentially absolute', because humans are considered as free souls to determine the choice between 'faith' and 'unfaith', but socio-political structurally, they still must comply under the corridor of Islamic state structure.

In this case, *Daulah Islamiyah* as being imagined by DI Muslims was parallel with the views of Ismail Razi al-Faruqi who depicts beautifully that, "People of the State of Islam is not based on birth,

race, color, or culture, but based on 'sincerity'. Under the constitution of the Islamic State, every adult is free to travel with his/her family and bring his property. If he/she decides not to become citizens again, no one will be forced by the country to become its citizens, and adhere to its ideology, believe in its goals, and will to bear the burden together. Being citizens of the Islamic State is open to anyone who wants an Islamic state as a state. So the Islamic State, not as a "nation state", is an open society, ready to accept anyone who wants to become its citizens.

Although referring to the State of Medina, radical Muslim activists has updated interpretation by stating that in *Daulah Islamiyah* in Southeast Asia, in their today's imagination, there will be no "Moral Police" that forces and indiscriminate, learning from cases in Iran and Aceh. In the radical and fundamental Muslim's perception, "negative picture" of Islamic laws in Aceh or Iran, for example, which applies now, precisely because of the suppression of individual rights, in which the Islamic laws are actually imposed blindly and indiscriminately to all citizens, such as "operations" on using veil, Friday congregational prayer, etc. everywhere, especially on the streets, which has never done by the Prophet and his government apparatus. The true condition in *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate) should not like that, but it is like the State of

Madinah or Cordova (Spain with three of Religion) in the past which has advanced civilization, tolerant and modern.²¹

Indonesian Islamic State and Islamic Caliphate: A Historical Perspective

As we know, after a journey through the political maze, filled with thistles and thorns, joy and sorrow, in 1949, precisely on August 7, Indonesia experienced a major political upheaval. The Shocks due to the proclaiming of "Islamic State of Indonesia (NII)" as *Daulah Islamiyah* to realize, then, an Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia. This movement is better known by the public as DI/TII, chaired by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo in Ciduga-leun village, Cisampang District, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java. Since then, Islam emerged in a tense face, and because of that the event is easily manipulated as a 'rebellion'. This proclaimed " village country" immediately became the opposition forces against the Sukarno's 'city' government. This NII proclaimed by S.M. Kartosoewirjo soon became the new adhesive strength for the people of Aceh, Central Java, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi, which were thinking of a reason to separate from the Soekarno's Republic. This 'Rebellion' which drained the logistics of the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia was not a small rebellion, nor a regional rebellion, not a 'rebellion' which arose because of pain or other poli-

²¹ See, Muntasir Alwi & Arif Fadillah, *Aplikasi Islam dalam Wilayah Kuadran, Rumusan Dasar Teoretis, Praksis dan Revolusioner Adaptasi Mukimin terhadap Kondisi-Kondisi Negara*.

tical disillusionment, but rather as 'ideal', an 'obsession' inspired by the right teachings of Islam. The DI/TII Rebellion itself, viewing with how Dengel Harald Holk expresses, comes from belief values held by the perpetrators. The emergence of 'rebellion' by Darul Islam also shows how the ideological conflict of the republic founders is around the ideals of Islam, the basic state and the country's political direction.

A lot of research that discusses the political resistance experience stagnation in seeing a problem. Stagnation is generally due to looking only at the issue from the perspective of 'agrarian structure' of political opposition or patron-client or 'restructuring state institutions' or 'bottom disappointed'. In fact, far in it, the sacred struggle is also an expression of values, an expression of idealism, thought and desire to make changes based on the value orientation that is considered contrary to the norms, so the movement is then called rebellion.

SM Kartosoewiryo's thought about the Islamic Caliphate with its Suffah institute in the form of the Islamic state in Southeast Asia was based on the early formation of Islamic society at the time of the Prophet. At that time, ethnic diversity, cultures, religions and languages are as diverse as Indonesia starting its integrative revolution in 1945. Also, in response to the trend toward a secular republic, as well as efforts to realize the theological ideals of the Islamic State. The holy struggle, which is known with Darul Islam, was centralized in West Java then extended its influence up to Central Java, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, and Aceh. If this

movement is successful, the possibility to form Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia by combining the strengths of Islamic forces in southern Thailand, Malaysia, Moro and Indochina as part of the Great Indonesian Islamic State will be easier to catch up.

SM Kartosoewirjo had been the leader of the Islamic movement since the era of the Dutch East Indies (starting from 1934 to 1942) who aimed to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. He accumulated his followers to fight the Dutch and was not cooperative and not through Parliament (*Volksraad*) or political party that he had entered, that is the PSII (Indonesian Islamic Union Party) and Masjumi (Indonesian Muslim Deliberation Council).

The most fundamental difference between Masyumi and Darul Islam (DI/TII) is that Masyumi approved the formulations of Pancasila and talked about an 'Islamic society', but did not talk about the "Islamic State" as Darul Islam (DI/TII) did. Islamic political parties in the end, seen by Kartosoewiryo, only served as a tool for deradicalizing basic ideas of Islam and tried to cover up the light of Allah. From the Kartosoewirjo's thought, we see that the discourse of a country in Islam is never dull in the head of every man who has faith and confess as believers. Almost all the centuries Muslims have thought and fought for only the being of state. History, as it appears and surrounds the mystery of the Darul Islam movement, looks to be interesting with the emergence of people who want to form a state of religious law (nomocracy) of Islam in the modern era. For radical and fundamental Muslims, Darul Islam movement is a movement to establish an Islamic caliphate that

carries light of religion and Islamic law in the modern era in which all people believe that this age is the age of light. Although the light of God's religion is covered by political thinkers with their statements that violate the concept of Islamic State, the debate about God and the implications of His policy become busy again as—to quote E.J. Hobsbown's term—'the primitive rebels' in the name of religion erupts everywhere.

Islamic state is a form of life that becomes the ideals of any Muslim ideologues in the world. Yet, its realization efforts always fail. The number of rebellions that have ever appeared, following by the number of victims who are willing to throw away or waste their life, it could be an open statistics about how very many people want the establishment of the Kingdom of the Divine in the earth.

So, as admitted in the Western world, the rule of Islam is a brilliant symbol of progress in the political world. In Islamic terms, this power becomes something inherent with the teachings acquired through the consciousness socialization using the Quran and the history of the Prophet Muhammad that led to the conquest of Mecca under the management authority of the Islamic order. Power is not a pleasure that must be inhaled, but the huge responsibility to bear and be responsible before God, which is actually in a democracy, in front of many people openly and honestly. To rule is not controlling Political power while enjoying the resources in an oppressive manner, but contains a weight political accountability in it. Therefore, the politics, as one aspect of Islamic culture, grows in the discourse between piety (subject to the holy command or power,

divine imperatives) and the power structure practice. According to AH Johns, for Islam, a stable political power is marked by the initial belief that 'the Muslim community should be governed by the best Muslim' and in Islamic caliphate as in the era of Medina State under the Companions such as Abubakar, Umar, Osman, Ali (post Rasulullah), which is the dream of radical and fundamental Muslims. The moral equation among all Muslims and a need that people should be governed by the law of God become the ideal destination for all Muslim thinkers, whatever the difficulties to adapt with existing political realities.²² After all, Islam has done a deconstruction, in a general sense,²³ upon the premises of a lot of knowledge developed over many years. To avoid misunderstandings and phobia against Islam, the Islamic state characteristics, according to Darul Islam activists, are described as follows:

First, Islam State (Islamic caliphate) or Darul Islam is a country that has faith, which from the point of its formation and its existence, it is upright on the basis of a complete philosophy, which is suitable for people of Indonesia who are predominantly Muslim. Sometimes, many political experts and scholars who consider that the Islamic State is a theocracy. However, no Islam state (ranging

²²Anthony Reid (ed.), "The Making of an Islamic Political Discourse in Southeast Asia", *Monash Paper on Southeast Asia*, No. 27, 1993, p. 12. See also A.H. Johns, "Political Authority in Islam: Some Reflections Relevant to Indonesia", in Anthony Reid dan David Marr, *Perception of the Past in The Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann (Asia) Ltd., 1981), p. 17-34.

²³For further explanation see Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 82 - 86.

from the State of Medina in the Prophet era, Spain of the three religions in medieval era, as well as Iran) resembles the theocratic Vatican Christian State. Islam state includes the moral system, law and public relations. It is not as described by some people who refer to Western thought, that is a religion state which is limited merely on the supernatural religious beliefs, ordinances of worship and ritual.²⁴

Second, do not depict the Islamic State (Caliphate of Islam) in its existence as a religious or a civilian state with the Western sense (Europe). Islamic State is not a Civilian State, which according to Ibn Khaldun it is not *al-Mulk al siyasi al-Madaniyah*. Islamic state is a state of law (*mulk siyasa diniyah* or nomocracy²⁵) is much better than a religious state (theocracy, like the Vatican). One can not 'because of his/her religious position' interpret religious texts or laws. Every person has the right to engage in dialogue (discussion) on a problem with making arguments and evidence.

Third, the Islamic State (Caliphate of Islam) is a state that has a certain character and humane. The goal of an Islamic state is not merely for power, wealth and greatness of the military push. The goal is nothing but all mankind free from bondage, tied them with a more noble bond, which is submission to God alone and uphold justice among all mankind. Therefore, the human moral is prior to

²⁴Muhammad Al-Mubarak, *Sistem Pemerintahan Dalam Perspektif Islam*, (trans.) (Solo: Pustaka Mantiq, 1995), p.149 - 155.

²⁵ *Din* here is in accordance with the Ibnu Khaldun's conception, that is rules or law. See Franz Rosenthal (ed.), *Ibn Khaldun: Muqaddimah* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

economic, political and military purposes in the Islamic state. The Islamic state is far different from other states whose main goal is to increase production or extend the influence (dominance) and power.

Fourthly, the Islamic State (Caliphate of Islam) is a civilized country. The Islamic State does not limit itself in its duties to maintain security and defend its territory against aggression. But, more than that, it will pursue its positive goals and focus on developing economy, science and all the equipments which give advantages to people as a whole. And, it also expands areas of public activity for people within the humanitarian objectives and morals in Islam.

Fifthly, the Islamic State (Caliphate of Islam) has solid foundations and its form grows. In contrast to the Pancasila State that still remains unclear, the Islamic State is actually a very adaptive in political science and democracy, much higher than democracy in America, Britain and other countries in the world. In addition, something details and rules will be submitted on *Ijtihad* and human thought and they can be changed whenever the situation requires. Thus, the Islamic State receives any forms of state, in accordance with the various conditions and changes in society which will come and go.

In the Muslim perception (moderate or radical, formalist or scripturalist or textualists or substantialists), the Islamic Caliphate or the Islamic State *a la* Medina and the Companions becomes the reference of millions people and Islamic activists who have utopia

energy to make it happen on Earth, now or later. The Constitution of Medina State is the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet. Based on the religion, the State includes the various laws and laws guaranteeing pluralism, human rights, citizens' rights and obligations in a fair, equal and harmony.

In the early history of Indonesia's national awakening movement trajectory, the power of the logic of Islam in politics had a great and diverse effect. There were those who were only limited to side with, there were also those limited to just agree with, and those even highly contested. S.M Kartosoewirjo is very militant leader in the intensity of the struggle to establish a state based on Islamic ideology, a Daulah Islamiyah, an Islamic caliphate in Indonesia in the context of the era in which he, his network and his followers live. Although the debate about Islamic ideology was not yet final at that time, he had translated the values of the Qur'an into other forms of bureaucratic practices and state law. Maybe, if there are people practicing the values of Islam in *kaffah* 'wholly', they are Kartosoewiryo and the mujahideen fighters in the *Darul Islam*, while most people just practice the values and rituals of worship and in a limited way (individually) practise *sharia*.

If in the Dutch colonial era the Islamic struggle raised debate over the strategy for struggle whether it should be done through 'political struggle' or 'moral development', in the era of the DI/TII sacred struggle the main focus is in the matter of the legitimacy of

the Indonesia Republic.²⁶ While Islamic political parties stood from the basic attitude that RI is a legitimate state, Darul Islam (DI) denied its validity. The problems of DI/TII then managed to 'down' to the security problems, no longer ideological propose, its approach could indicate a hole inside the argument of political Islam, also it offers the opportunity for outside factors to take a certain political initiative, without any moral ambivalence.

The birth of the Islamic State of Indonesia is not really the result of human engineering in this case is the S.M. Kartosoewirjo, but *af'alullah* 'the action and programs directly from God Almighty'. When we want to observe wisely and thoughtfully the history of Indonesia, there are clear that man is only as *fa'il* or executor the will of God. Since the proclamation of NII, all Muslims throughout Indonesia in particular have truly got their independence (de facto). They already have a state and government which would impose Islamic law. Because the real Islam came to liberate all mankind. If the Muslims live in a country, anywhere on earth, whether they are minority or majority population, but they are not free to impose Islamic law or governed by the rule and Islamic law, basically they are not free, there will never be freedom. Moreover, independence is far in a country that refused the law of God according to the Qur'an and authentic Hadith. Then it becomes the duty of every Muslim to fight for independence from all forms of slavery of ignorance for the sake of humanity, justice, and freedom to imple-

²⁶See Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosoewirjo*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1996).

ment Islamic law. Any activities carry out by Islamic organizations in the country that is not an Islamic state and how they maybe make favorable life, it will not be able to remove their obligation to fight to uphold the Islamic State, which guarantees the law of Allah and His Messenger in this world.²⁷ The issue of Islamic State becomes a polemic around some Muslims who argue that the Qur'an contains no terms of the Islamic State; moreover, the Pro-phet Muhammad never setup an Islamic state or Daulah Islamiyah or Darul Islam.

In his view about the state under a caliph, in May 1948 Karto-soewiryo formed Imamate Council, as well as the Constitution of the Islamic State of Indonesia (*Qanun Azazi*) accompanied by a brief description over 10 main concepts prepared in August 1948. So, formally he had already established an Islamic state. The composition of the organization of the Islamic State of Indonesia is basically just a fairly simple, but practical. Even in the simplicity, there was an authentic thought of Kartosoewirjo to regulate the administration of 'governance' and 'state' and 'forces' that were growing. When the Islamic State of Indonesia was still in a prototype, *i.g.* the power settings before the proclamation, on August 25 1948 there was issued the so-called 'declaration of Imam No. 1', which contained regulations about the government administration, both civil and military. In the decree No. 1 it is mentioned that the entire leaders of the civil administration were assigned as 'commander of defense' in their respective areas, while the leaders of army

²⁷See Damurasysyi Mujahidin, *Menelusuri Jejak-langkah Jihad S.M. Karto-soewiryo* (Yogyakarta: Wihdah Press, 1999), p. 52-53.

were assigned as 'commander of the battle'. In arranging the growing strength Kartosoewirjo put all the potentials under his rule. Because there was no parliament, the entire regulations of the Islamic State of Indonesia were issued by the Supreme Commandment namely the Council of the Imamate in the form of decree, signed by the Imam and then distributed.²⁸ On October 3, 1949 there was a Decree from the Supreme Commandment No. 1 on the adjustment of the composition of the government (NII Government Administration) with the situation and the on going conditions at the time.²⁹ In the explanation of the no. 1 decree, there were descriptions as follows:³⁰

"Segala model organisasi dibentok dengan tjara jang amat praktis jang sekiranya dapat menoenakan wadjibnja dengan tjepat dan tepat sesoeai dengan toentoetan pergolakan revoloesi. Dan segala sesoeatoe jang menghambat, memperlambat, menghalangi dan menentang kepada hoekoem revoloesi itoe haroes dan wadjiblah diloempoehkan, dipatahkan dan dimoesnahkan."

(All organizations were established with a very practical way that possibly can execute the duties quickly and precisely in accordance with the upheaval of revolution. And, all things which hinder, slow down, tackle and oppose to that revolution have to be paralyzed, damaged and destroyed)

²⁸ Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosoewirjo*, p. 113.

²⁹ S.M. Kartosoewirjo (Karma Yoga), *Pedoman Dharma Bakti*, Vol. I, p.24.

³⁰ S.M. Kartosoewirjo (Karma Yoga), *Pedoman Dharma Bakti*, Vol. I, p.33-34.

Here are some reasons, then the Supreme Commandment obligates, as soon as possible, to change the Islamic State of Indonesia government composition to the form of “the NII Armed Forces Supreme Commandment”. With that form now, political and military issues are united. Even, for all activities and its branches. The government of the Islamic State of Indonesia is adjusted to the political policy and military movement. Politics experts must be militarized (*gemilitairiseerde politici*). On the other hand, military experts must be politicized (*verpolitiseerde militairen*).

The decree from the Supreme Commandment no. 1 in certain limits can give an idea of the extent to which the dynamics of how Kartosoewirjo thought in attempting to manage and control NII that was growing in the transitional period. Separation between political and military authorities, as practiced by RI and turned out to harm the struggle, gave lessons to him to issue that decree no. 1. Thus, the leaders of the Government and the State can be combined and there will be no dualism in the leadership.

Primarily to prevent the dualism and contradiction that may be caused by superior feeling from one group over another, for examples the military over the civilian group or vice versa, the programs had been designed by Kartosoewirjo, intrinsically good being practiced in a turbulent country or in a state of war. The main Interest lies in the leadership and the potential union that exists in that country. Each local leaders, both military and civilian, can easily and smoothly move the power instruments that exist on them. A civilian commanders who have been demilitarized, if

needed, can give orders to the armed forces members to face a sudden situation. Similarly, a military commanders who have been politicized can command the civil power instrument, if necessary.

If in the region of DI between the civilian and military leaders there is no consensus in dealing with an issue, the higher management will take the issue and reconcile the disputes between them. And if the disputes cannot be solved by the higher leader, a mutation will be held over one of them until the two leaders in an area completely become single. There are some of the good aspects of leader integration system which was once practiced by Kartosoewirjo to regulate political power in the Islamic State of Indonesia.

In his political manifesto published shortly after the proclamation of the NII, Kartosoewirjo opposed the Round Table Conference and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Indonesia States. His statement in the manifesto are as follows:³¹

"Telah tiba saat jang menentoekan nasib bangsa Indonesia, teroetama nasib Oemat Islam Indonesia. Perdjoengan kini haroes diteroekan dengan Islam sampai Mardlotillah tertjapai, itoe adalah satoe-satoenja djalan oentoek membebaskan Oemmat Islam dari segala penderitaan di doenia dan di achirat."

"Moesoeh-moesoeh Allah, moesoeh-moesoeh agama Islam dan moesoeh Negara Islam Indonesia haroes dihantjoerkan agar hoe-koem Islam jang sesoeai dengan adjaran Al-Quer'an dan Soennah Nabi setjara menjeloeroeh dan oetoeh dapat dilaksanakan di seloe-roeh Indonesia. "

³¹ *Siliwangi dari Masa ke Masa* (1979), p. 319.

("The time that determines the fate of Indonesia has come, especially the fate of Indonesian Muslims. The struggle for Islam must be continued until Mardhotillah 'God's bless' is achieved, that is the only way to liberate Muslims from all the suffering in the world and in hereafter."

"The enemy of God, Islam and the Islamic State of Indone defeated in order the law of Islam which is based on Qur'an and Hadith of the Prophet wholly can be implemented in Indonesia.")

According to its political manifesto, Kartosoewirjo explained that:

Negara Islam Indonesia dapat mendjalinkan hoeboengan dengan setiap negara lain, tetapi dengan sjarat, negara terseboet haroes mengakoei Negara Islam Indonesia, bahkan djoega dengan Belanda, Negara Islam Indonesia dapat mengadakan hoeboengan berdasarkan sjarat terseboet.

Karena Islam mentjakoep semoea aspek kehidoepan manoesia, boekan hanja jang berhoeboengan dengan keachiratan, melainkan djoega jang berhoeboengan dengan kehidoepan bermasjarkat dan bernegara, maka setjara teoritis di dalam seboeh negara Islam tidak terdapat pemisahan antara negara dan pemerintah, antara politik dan agama.

Ada doea anasir jang haroes disatoekan, pertama: "Satoe negara jang berdaoeelat penoeih 100 % keloeah dan kedalam, 'de facto dan de jure'. Kedoea: "Haroes ada peratoeran Allah, jang meroepakan agama Allah, atau agama Islam". Kedoea anasir ini haroes bersatoe atau dipersatoekan. Boekan sebagai minjak dan air jang ada di seboeh perioek.

(Islamic State of Indonesia can establish a relationship with every other state, but on condition that the state must recognize the Islamic State of Indonesia, even with Dutch, Islamic State of Indonesia can hold a relationship based on these terms.

Since Islam encompasses all aspects of human life, not only

those concerning with hereafter, but also the life of society and state, then in theory in an Islamic state there is no separation between state and government, between politics and religion.

There are two elements that must be put together, first: "A country that has its 100% sovereign outside and inside, 'de facto and de jure'. Second: "There must be rules of God, which is the religion of God, or the religion of Islam." Both of these elements must unite or be united, not as oil and water in one pot.)³²

The values of a religion, despite having many same teachings, but in terms of its implementation and understanding are rarely the same. Some of the values, norms as well as the teachings and rituals teachings have something in common. The similarity is that generally brings a feeling or emotion as well as the relationship among the adherents of a religion. This religious emotion then often triggers solidarity,³³ especially in political action.

Darul Islam movement³⁴ defines religion as very political. Religious values become very concrete due to its simple interpretation and translation in the form of daily life. Long before the debate on the Islamic political system or whether Islam has a system of government, Kartosoewirjo, the leader of the *Darul Islam* move-

³² Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosuwirjo*, p. 120.

³³ According to Ibn Khaldun, solidarity (*asabiyah*) is the group feeling and group consciousness that becomes a route to a nation. And, a powerful '*asabiyah*' achieves predominance over other groups in a dynasty or a state (*daulah*). See Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, (Translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal and edited by N.J. Dawood), (London dan Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with Secker and Warburg, 1967), p. xi.

³⁴ Until 1995, the *Darul Islam* movement still existed in Indonesia even extended its area to the region that formerly had become the basis of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). See *Gatra*, October 14, 1995, p. 35.

ment, had created a concrete formulation in the form of constitutions, proclamation and decrees. What an extraordinary thing when war was raging and in uncertain political atmosphere, Kartosoewirjo and several other figures who sat in the Imamate Council of Darul Islam (Islamic Caliphate) has developed very mature concepts about things related to government regulations, army forces, democracy in legislative and other specific matters such as *bai'at* (oath) and *sapta subbayah* (soldiers oath).³⁵ In this oath the bond of nationality melts into the bond of commitment to enforce the law for all mankind.

The structure of the Darul Islam (Islamic Caliphate) is reflected in *Qanun Azazi* (Constitution). The power structure in the Darul Islam combines civilian and military elements at once in a commandment. The interests of the Islamic State of Indonesia were suited to the political and military circumstances at the time. So, Kartosoewirjo ordered, "political experts must be militarized, and military experts must be politicized".³⁶ In the meantime, the legislative institution remained the highest and at the same time led the country. The ideas of democracy, through the light path of religion, gained significance in the structure of the Islamic State of Indonesia.

³⁵ See the appendix of Karl D. Jackson's book, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan: Kasus Darul Islam Jawa Barat*, transl. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), especially for the Islamic State Proclamation, *Strafrecht*, Qanun Azazi (NII Constitution) And declarations issued by the Supreme commandment (KT) of NII.

³⁶ See *Salinan Pedoman Dharma Bhakti*, Vol.I, p. 19-22 as quoted by Holk Harald Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosuwirjo*, transl. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), p. 114.

Darul Islam is a republic (*jumhuriyyah*) that combines the principles of democracy and religion with a neat and detail arrangement of power institutions.³⁷ The legislative body is the *Majlis Syuro* which holds the power to make laws in the Islamic State of Indonesia. At that time, since the country was in a war, the right of *Majlis Syuro* was held by the *Imam* (the president). The *Majlis Syuro* had a Working Committee, called the *Dewan Syuro* that did everything as a representative of the *Majlis Syuro*. The executive body was led by an *Imam* (leader) was appointed by the *Majlis Syuro* with his oath. To perform its functions, the executive had two councils which their members appointed by the *Imam*, namely (1) *Fatwa Council* headed by a Grand Mufti and (2) *Imamate Council*. And, under the *Imamate Council*, the government bureaucracy is regulated, especially for the affairs of (a) the regional division from the province to rurals/villages, then (b) financial institutions such as tax offices and trade affairs and others, also (c) the judiciary institutions to proceed the morality issues, and violations against Islamic law by public, Then (d) defense institutions and (e) educational institutions, and (f) private economic institutions.³⁸ Under the *Imamate Council* there

³⁷ See Karl D. Jackson, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan: Kasus Darul Islam Jawa Barat*, p. 340.

³⁸ However, all these institutions at all levels did not run effectively yet because of the situation was still in the emergency of war until the *Imam* imposed *martial law* and all functions under the hand of *Imam*. See Karl D. Jackson, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan: Kasus Darul Islam Jawa Barat*, p. 341-342.

were *Imamate Assembly*³⁹ (the Cabinet) which just contained six Assembly or ministry, namely (1) Assembly of Finance,⁴⁰ (2) Assembly of Information,⁴¹ (3) Assembly of Defense,⁴² (4) Assembly of Justice,⁴³ (5) Foreign Affairs Assembly,⁴⁴ and (6) Assembly of Interior affairs.⁴⁵ The structural and territorial leadership in the Islamic State of Indonesia under the the Imamate Council is Governor, Resident, Regent and sub-district Head. However, by its nature to rapid change in accordance with the progress of the war, then the structure then changes its name and level. In addition, the Darul Islam itself made a Book of Criminal Law based on the

³⁹ The first cabinet was made at the Conference of the Central Islamic Assembly on May 1-5, 1948 in Cijoho produced five cabinet ministers for the first time, the Information Assembly under the chairmanship of Kiyai Toha Arsjad, Assembly of Finance led by Partawidjaja Sanusi, the Assembly of Judiciary by KH Ghozali Tusi, the Defense Assembly under S.M Kartosoewirjo and Assembly of Interior affairs under the leadership of Sanusi Partawidjaja. See H. Hold Dengel, *op.cit*, p.74.

⁴⁰ This Finance Assembly was led by Oedin Kartasasmita and after his death replaced by Soelaiman Purnama.

⁴¹ The Information Assembly was led by Toha Arsjad and after his death in 1952/1953 nobody substituted him.

⁴² The Defense Assembly was led by Raden Oni and after his death in a war in 1952/53 none succeeded him.

⁴³ The Justice Assembly was led by Ghozali Tusi, after arrested by RI, nobody succeeded him.

⁴⁴ The Foreign Affairs Assembly was led by Sanusi Partawidjaja, but since then known planned to *coup d'etat* Kartosuwirjo leadership, he then sentenced to death by Kartosuwirjo and this task was taken over by him. This Assembly once became a hope when Van Kleeef reportedly had links Darul Islam with funding agencies in Europe and the United States.

⁴⁵ Assembly of Interior Affairs was led concurrently by Sanusi Partawidjaja, probably due to the large area of this authority he then intended to coup Kartosuwirjo, and after he had been sentenced to death, his position was taken over by Kartosuwirjo.

Quranic verses interpretation. This Criminal Law is a remarkable advancement of thought, the Republic of Indonesia has so far not been able to create its own criminal law, and it has still copied the *bürgerlich wetboek* of Netherlands.

Darul Islam organization in the wartime was an emergency organization, but still ran the organization functions in a very steady. This movement is a movement that is very neat in terms of documentation, bureaucracy and administration. The implementation of the law (including criminal law) started in 1949 was Islamic law in wartime in accordance with the Qur'an, *Surah Al-Baqarah* 216.⁴⁶ Therefore, the Islamic State of Indonesia at that time was called as *Darul Islam fi waqtil Harbi*.⁴⁷ In the first structure of its formation, the organizational structure of Darul Islam originated from a power and management point, and then divided into commandments.

Darul Islam organization is a rigid organization with some changes similar to a metamorphosi that eventually lead to a convergence of 'a state' with an area covering the whole of Indonesia. Since the beginning Kartosoewirjo had planned for an Islamic state covering the entire territory of Indonesia.⁴⁸ And, the whole scheme

⁴⁶ See chapter 2 of the Islamic State of Indonesia Constitution, order No. III, in Karl D. Jackson, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan*.

⁴⁷ It means 'the Islamic State in wartime'. See the explanation no. 6 of the Islamic State of Indonesia proclamation, 12 Syawal 1368 *Hijriah*/Agustus 7, 1949 in the appendix of K.D. Jackson's book.

⁴⁸ Hold Harald Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosuwirjo* (transl. A doctoral dissertation at Universitat Heidelberg with its original title *Darul Islam: Karto-*

of the state organization and administration were matched with that plan so that the Kartosoewiryo's DI became the best *Darul Islam* movement in its organization and administration.⁴⁹

Strictly speaking, the Darul Islam movement classified the phases/stages of its struggle into a certain period that its reflection was very continuum with what written in the holy Quran. There are 6 (six) stages of the struggle of all human, all of which come from the inter-pretation of Qur'anic verses that are difficult to understand or had never been interpreted by previous *mufasssir* 'Qur'an interpreters'.

The phases in the Darul Islam movement are a very progressive metamorphosis process. This is reflected in the process of restructuring or reorganization of both military and civilian, both territory and strategy which always follows the development and progression of time. From the beginning, although the *Qanun Azazi* and the Book of Criminal Law was perfectly made, they did not used effectively. At that time, the phase is the war phase, so that starting in 1949 the law only ran with the consideration of war and there was not yet a legitimate thing to do based on the positive law.

The struggle stages are based on the development of controlled territory. Indeed in Islam, the power of the giant Goliath soldiers can be overthrown by the army of little David⁵⁰ was due to

suwirjos Kampf um einen islamischen Staat Indonesien (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), p. 222.

⁴⁹See Karl D. Jackson, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan*.

⁵⁰ See Holy Quran, al-Baqarah [2]:251.

the army power of Goliath was attacked from the periphery. The enemy's territory, in the Islamic concept, must also be entered and controlled from the side edges.⁵¹ Because the periodicity of this movement depended on the progress of the area which can be obtained, progress will depend on how wide the area. The passage of time should be measured by the 'achievements' of territory acquisition and, of course, 'final victory time' planning on when Indonesia will be conquered, section by section.

The important decision that was made in 1948, after establishing the Imamate Assembly, was the establishing and controlling a 'Capital of Islamic state'⁵² which was an area where the 'religious law of Islam was implemented', and named Region I (D-I). While, the regions outside the Region I were divided into the Region II (DII), which was only half occupied by Muslims, and Region III (DIII), the area still dominated by the non-Muslims. The obligation of the leaders in these areas was maintaining the areas they had been controlled and expanded them, and tried to connect the Region I and Region II, until the Region II became Region I.⁵³ So was the obligation of the leaders in Region II to connect the Region II with Region III, until Region III became Region II. While the obligation of Muslims in Region II was to try by all means to attract

⁵¹ "See they not that We gradually reduce the land (of disbelievers) from its outlying borders. And Allah judges, there is none to put back His judgment and He is Swift at reckoning." (QS. [13]:41).

⁵² It is a starting point (*i'lan*) as the Prophet Muhammad conquered Yatsrib then changed its name into "Medina".

⁵³ Cf. Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosoewirjo*, p. 75.

the sympathy of all residents who need to be "Islamized" so that they were attracted to the NII movement.⁵⁴ The establishment of the three regions (D-I, D-II, D-III) are already three periods, while the transition process from D III to D II is one period; process of transition to DII to D I is one period; whereas the DI process to mature 'DI' is one period, all are six periods. Not yet known in detail the years that were passed from each period.

Just like the traditional consciousness of Moro people about *Darul Islam*, the Darul Islam movement in Indonesia has a strong ideals championed by the Mujahideen with a strong Islamic militancy and commitment. The leader of the Darul Islam movement, Kartosoewirjo, along with the leader of *Syarikat Islam* (HOS Tjokroaminoto), had an aspiration to build an Islamic country in Indonesia from the beginning. The shape of the future Indonesia already they formulated in the early 20th Century.

Outside the Darul Islam, the Islamic movements in Indonesia are too normative and tend to ignore the existence of differentiation, segmentation and social stratification in society. As a result, the normative sentiments about the unity of the people became more prominent than the actual commitments to defend the displaced and oppressed groups in society. *Darul Islam* even looked further, Muslims who are mostly the *dhu'afa* (weak) or *mustadh'afin* (weakened) people oppressed economically and politically by the state. Darul Islam succeeded in elaborating these two groups

⁵⁴ Cf. Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartooewirjo*, p. 76.

empirically and struggled with a conscious purpose to defend the oppressed people on earth.⁵⁵ Darul Islam presents Islam through the teachings that have an actual effect, so that the ideals of Islamic politic can easily be transformed to his followers. Prohibition and commands that are general and normative must be understood in specific and empirical terms. It means that a member of Darul Islam must translate the verses historically by looking at contemporary phenomena, namely that the Qur'an condemns the tyrannical power, monopoly and oligopoly in a country's economy practice. Furthermore, it means that they must fight. Fight or let was the two options that should be taken by people who call themselves 'believers'. Specific and empirical interpretations not only will raise the objective awareness about the political reality from the perspective of normative religion, but also will allow religion emerge as a relevant movement to answer the contemporary problems.

Class distinctions in Islam is more horizontal which is reflected in the verse which states that although man was created from a single self, but they are fragmented and disaggregated in groups.⁵⁶ And because the economic base for the reference of that verse is the Arab with its merchant aristocracy class, as the elite who was the most influent in Arab society, such figures like Abu Lahab, Abu

⁵⁵ *"And what is wrong with you that you fight not in the Cause of Allah, and for those weak, ill-treated and oppressed among men, women, and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from You one who will protect, and raise for us from You one who will help'." (Holy Quran 4:75).*

⁵⁶ See Holy Quran 49:13.

Sufyan, Abu Jahl are the famous examples for the representation of an aristocratic elite class. But then the Qur'an also reflects another social reality related to class divisions based on other criteria such as the *dhu'afa* (the weak), the indigent and the poor. In fact, every Islamic movement, such as Darul Islam emerges because of the challenge to formulate concepts and concrete action programs to apply transformation according to its normative goal. Darul Islam as a movement inspired by a passion for social justice is required to be sensitive to the phenomenon of social justice and to use this issue as a pull factor for its followers. So, obviously Darul Islam used the pro class in its struggle strategy, for example in the division of *ghanimah* and *fa'i*. Both types of booty were taken both in war and without war from those who were rich, and then divided for the indigent, poor, wayfarers, and orphans; shortly, to the bottom of the social structure.⁵⁷

This social class differentiation in the *tauhid* consciousness even becomes social polarization in which a social in-equality phenomenon is already a *sunnatullah*, as the natural law, as an empirical reality that is destined to the human world. Darul Islam has the social goals to continuously enforce egalitarianism. The involvement to uphold the ideals of egalitarianism⁵⁸ and fairness is de-

⁵⁷ About this see S.M. Kartosoewirjo (pseudonim Abu Darda), *Pedoman Dharma Bhakti*, as copied by Pinardi, *Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo* (Jakarta: Aryaguna, 1964), p. 91.

⁵⁸ This egalitarianism ideal is different with the communism and socialist ideals. ("For everyone according to his need, from everyone according to his ability").

manded to every *mujahed*⁵⁹ and seen as having a very high value of worship. Empirical social reality that is filled with the polarization phenomenon in Islam (and specifically in the Darul Islam movement) is seen as a real event where every believer will fight for social justice ideals. The involvement in the struggle will determine his/her quality as *khalifatullah fil ardh*.⁶⁰ In this place the Islamic movements gain their social relevance and political significance in the minds of the people. People or *ummah* also assume that the Islamic movement that wants to radically change the situation (up to the root), as the *Mahdism* (Messianism) movement.

The development of Messianism among the people of Indonesia, politically, is a fertile ground for organizing a movement against paganism and polytheism. In the Dutch colonial government, Snouck Hurgronje had explained the term Messianism to the Military Governor of the Netherlands East Indies. So, it is understandable that this concept provides the over sensitivity for the Dutch regime against everything that is considered as Pan-Islamists, which can unite people to act politically against authority. Messianism ideas and thoughts not only provide an opportunity for the development of Islam as a beacon of hope to change, but also more importantly remind people about the doctrine of 'final

⁵⁹ *Mujahed* or in the plural form *mujahedeen* is persons who perform *Jihad*. *Jihad* means 'seriously' (etymologically) struggle for Allah/Islam. One kind of *jihad* is fight in God's path.

⁶⁰ *Khalifatullah fil ardh* can be meant "Allah's representative on earth" to coordinate the execution of His order and ban.

victory'. Messianism serves as a cover for the Islamic political movement so that it becomes full of mystery.

The most important political concept of Darul Islam is *hegira*,⁶¹ emigration. During the time, Muslims interpret *hegira* as a mere historical significance, that the Prophet Muhammad ever emigrated from Mecca to Yathrib who later named Medina. In Kartosoewirjo's own sentence, "So it happened, *hegira* is one of a very important prophet's deeds; important, because after the *hegira*, Muslims lived in a new era, the light era, because of the God's shone the ground of Medina".⁶² In the Kartosoewirjo's understanding, *hegira* a political attitude (*tawhid* attitude), historical consciousness and the worship that should be run by each believer.⁶³ Even, Kartosoewirjo had withdrawn from the political scene because of his *hegira* political attitude that was really consequent.⁶⁴ This political orientation, of course, did not favored by authorities who feared the loss of people's participation in political life. If the concept of *hegira* ⁶⁵ was considered as form of

⁶¹ Politics, in a very unusual way, is carefully conceptualized by Kartosoewirjo, and it became the most comprehensive political concept about non-cooperation of the native power against the state. See S.M. Kartosoewirjo, *Sikap Hidjrah P.S.I.I.*, Vol. I (Malangbong: PSII, 1936).

⁶² S.M. Kartosoewirjo, *Sikap Hidjrah PSII: Ditetapkan Madjlis Tahkim Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia ke-22* (Malangbong, Batavia-C: PSII, 1936), p. 9.

⁶³ QS [9]:20 "Those who believed and emigrated and strove hard and fought in Allah's Cause with their wealth and their lives are far higher in degree with Allah. They are the successful."

⁶⁴ Cf. Holk H. Dengel, *Darul Islam dan Kartosoewirjo*, p. 45.

⁶⁵ In fact, since 1923 Sarekat Islamic Party (PSI) had already suggested that the policy of "non-cooperation" was carried out in Indonesia to deal with the

worship by the Muslims, the large scale separation will occur and the rulers lost their legitimacy to rule.

There were several government characteristics that were hated by the the Darul Islam movement. Generally, they were mostly against secular nationalism and communism. While only some aspects of the capitalist system that were criticized by Kartosoewirjo, the imam of the Darul Islam. Although Darul Islam does not hate capitalism, but it does not also support it. Because capitalism will only create a bourgeois group who closes to tyrants. Hate tyrants, the Darul Islam means also hate their supporters. Rent system (bank interest) was also highly dislike. Rich people are usually the companions of tyrants, because they are able to buy freedom; while the poor do not hesitate to sell their freedom. It means, the poor who are on the bottom of the structure never worried to lose theirs, they have nothing to loose. Therefore, the Darul Islam movement did not appeal for members of the legislative or urban intellectuals. Although the members of the legislative, academic scholars or urban intellectuals are more critical against power, but people in the grassroot who feel direct result of the bitter power.

colonial power, by taking the example of the Swadeshi movement founded by Mahatma Gandhi. The goal was to refuse the cooperation in the *Volksraad* (parliament) and to be more independent in the economic and social sectors. This kind of politic then was called a "political *hegira*", which was an adaptation of the phrase "non-cooperative politic". See Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980), p.159.

Tyrannical power is generally felt economically by ordinary people. The cycle of poor people life goes from non-Muslims to Muslims. The concept of class in the consciousness of people is that the tyrant class approximately equals to the class of *mustakbirun*,⁶⁶ the wrongdoer tyrants. While the Muslims who live mostly in the class of *mustadh'afin* ⁶⁷ face the *mustakbirun* class, then at that situation the class contradiction is recognized, even in a theological sense. It makes no sense if a nation from time to time only falls from the hand of one tyrant to another tyrant's. In the perception of Darul Islam, Indonesia was out from the mouth of a tiger and then went into a crocodile's mouth. The strength of Muslims is the only force capable to become element control against the established power institutions. The struggle of Muslims, both in the line of militia and intellectual, as well as cooperation and non-cooperation has thus colored the Indonesia's political journey.

If there are no people calling to goodness, it is unlikely that this nation will change its fate. So, Darul Islam interpreted its movement as the only movement that called to the *goodness* and prevent the evil.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Mustakbirun* is a Qur'anic term referring to elite group of ruler who are arrogant and oppress the people.

⁶⁷ *Mustadh'afin* is the weakened group, oppressed by the tyrant rulers, in Qur'anic terminology.

⁶⁸ In the *Darul Islam* perception, its members had already been the only Muslim, and became *ayatun bayyinat* (clear signs) as what is mentioned in Holy Quran 3:104 & 110. Meanwhile, the people of republic were considered as "they each other refuse to forbid the evil" (Holy Quran 7:175) or "they (the republic) enjoin *al-munkar* (evil) and forbid *al-makruf* (goodness)" (Holy Quran 9:67).

It is important we understand the constellation of the Darul Islam movement from the point of people's psychology in staring the reality with religious glasses. Indeed there is the *raison d'etre* becoming the reason for the emergence of a violent political reaction from Muslims. By looking at the characteristics of their doctrine to uphold the authority system, through the leadership with a strict hierarchy, we can conclude that this movement arose in reaction to the marginalization and atomization of modern life. Psychologically they feel lose grip to face new social processes in post-independence.⁶⁹ In addition, they are usually a group that was not covered by the existing people organization. Islamic organizations only move in formal and ceremonial sectors. Which then becomes interesting is that the group appeared in both rural and urban areas. Unlike the Islamic splinter movements⁷⁰ that have emerged lately which have no political idealism, which only critical on the surface but could not pull the cause root structurally. The Darul Islam movement constantly moves with its loaded political idealism. In fact, if we look at the processes and stages of their (Darul Islam) *tawhid* understanding, almost all Islamic teachings is the doctrine of political: religion is politic.

⁶⁹ About how Kartosoewirjo accepted Indonesia independence and hoped that Indonesia should become an Islamic country can be found in his very interesting book, S.M. Kartosoewirjo, *Haloean Politik Islam* (Malangbong: Penerbit Dewan Penerangan Masjoemi Daerah Priangan, 1946).

⁷⁰For the Islamic splinter movements in Indonesia with their characteristics, please refer to Kuntowidjojo, *Paradigma Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), p. 204.

What is interesting in the Darul Islam movement is its *aqeedah* (principles), its members did not feel they lost themselves, loss of personal freedom because they were so dependent on their teachers or leaders. Sense of togetherness in—citing James Siegel's term—God's ropes to break the oppressor power absorbed their personal freedom. And, also usually, they became radical because they were disappointed with clerics⁷¹ or leaders who were not sensitive to social and political reality. They fostered a political tradition that tended to violence⁷², quite naturally, if then they see Indonesia was dominated by the personals who represented the profile of Pharaoh. To confront Pharaoh, they do with the way of *qital* (armed jihad or violent) and *ghazwul fikri* (mindset war), two modes that combine all the strategies to achieve victory.

The crucial relationship between the state and Muslims, as generally the 'unjust' government, the government was over exaggerated Islam as a threat. Darul Islam rebellion that could be broken becomes a negative precedent that always exaggerates to support

⁷¹ Ulama or clerics who tended to support the ruler, based on their opinion, are the clerics of the people of Scripture (Jews and Christians) who “are considered as having no religion until they uphold the Holy Book teachings.” (Holy Quran 5:68).

⁷² Violence is a tendency that can bring them to anarchism. The frustration people due to socio-economic problem tend to be somewhat to the left, and they who frustrate due to religious problems tend to be the right. Yet, the “right group” in Qur'an is much better than the extreme right labeled by the government due to the religious violence they do. See for example, “*How fortunate will be those on the Right*” (Holy Quran 56:8 & 27), and “*They are those on the Right (will enter paradise)*” (Holy Quran 90:18), and “*Then there is safety and peace for those on the Right.*” (Holy Quran 56:91)

the legitimacy of the regime describing Islam as a threat to national unity. The despotic government always oppresses a party of its people to strengthen the legitimacy of his power base. If the oppression is slack, his legitimacy is also weak. As a result, the government does so called depoliticization and deideologization of Islam nationally. Politic labeled ethnic, religion, regionalism and group affiliation is considered as a source of national disintegration.

The Caliphate and Islamism in Indonesia Post-New Order

In search of a solution to many complex problems in the archipelago, many Indonesians pro-Islamism such as followers and sympathizers Darul Islam, in part, are in the peak of getting tired with the government's less effort towards combating corruption and poverty. Not to mention other issues like injustice, tyranny, corruption, lack of education and significant number of human rights violations. It is quite understood that the prolonged transition in Indonesia has not only given birth but also led to more loud voices of Islamic parties, calling for establishing Khilafah (Islamic state) as a way of building a better moral and prosperous nation.

Sounds like a promise, but for the pluralistic country like Indonesia this is not at all a good idea. Khilafah means combining Islam and politics in governance, and applying it in the archipelago having high diversities in religions, ethnics, cultures and economic disparity; Khilafah can be very dangerous, antithese of democracy.

This Islamic dynamics is parallel and contextual with the argument of Clifford Geertz, in *After Facts: Two Countries, Four*

Decades, One Anthropologist (1995), in which Geertz argued that tendency to the strengthening of puritan Islam in Java; at least more visible than in 1960s. After his four decades research on Indonesia, Geertz saw that Puritanism of Islam had become stronger in Java through 1990s until today. Puritanism has become visible in the wave of political Islam in Indonesia. The Puritanism in its growth have interrelations with Wahabism and/or Salafism in form of radicalization of radical salafy, as visible in case of terrorist or executor of Bali bombing.⁷³

Clifford Geertz says, compared to the era of 1960s, this Islamic ideology in Indonesia 1990s seems now to have become more visible in favor of the country's political gain.

Such strong growth of Islamic Puritanism in Indonesia , as he furthered, is playing an important role of the spread of Islamic radical ideology. In correspondence with Geertz's decade studies, Professor Bahtiar Effendy of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Muhammadiyah – the second largest Islamic organization in Indonesia – said that the influence of Islamic radicalization in Indonesia is becoming more visible owing to the country's political and economic instability, where the majority of Muslims still live in the poverty line. World bank report reveal that more than 100 millions peoples (mostly Muslims) are still very poor in Indonesia

⁷³ Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist*. [The Jerusalem-Harvard Lectures]. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press. 1995). See, Herdi Sahrasad and Aulia Rachmat, "Ideologisasi dan Transnasionalisasi Agama", *Media Indonesia*, September 23, 2007.

with daily spending US\$2 or less. The writer believes that should the political and economy condition in Indonesia had been greatly improved, the influence of Islamic Puritanism or radicalism would have been dwindled.⁷⁴

In the eyes of Muslim puritans, on the other hand, Islam is the only way of life and therefore establishing khilafah (Islamic state) with the implementation of sharia (Islamic law) must be pursued regardless of the impact on the rights of other non-Muslim living in the state, although to most Indonesians living in today's melting pot society, sharia is undoubtedly not what they want.

But the polling conducted by Indonesian Survey Institution (LSI) in 2006 and 2010 shows a concern that radicalism and Islamic fundamentalism are still prevalent in Indonesia , the world's largest Muslim population nation. Based on 1,092 respondents from across Indonesia, with a 3 percent margin of error, At least 16.1 percent of respondents tolerate with the ideology of Jemaah Islamiyah, an organization accused of being the cell of al-Qaeda terrorist organization, and nine percent agree with the use of violent attacks like the 2002 Bali bombing as long as the attacks are aimed at defending Islam.

The survey showed 16.1 percent of the respondents support Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), the country's hardcore Islamic organization, and are sympathetic to the organization's leader, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir who is also the alleged spiritual leader of

⁷⁴ A Talk with Prof Bachtiar Effendy, Jakarta, early September 2007.

Jemaah Islamiyah. While 17.4 percent of the respondents tolerate with the ideology of Jemaah Islamiyah, an organization accused of being the cell of al-Qaeda terrorist organization. And 7.2 percent agree with the idea of Hizbur Tahrir Indonesia, hardliner Islamic group fervently campaigning for the establishment of sharia in Indonesia .

The latter is having an international gathering several years ago in Jakarta as a means of getting support from international Muslim communities for the establishment of khilafah.

In general, the majority of Indonesian Muslims do not agree with the use of tactics in terms of jihad (holy war). Speaking of the percentage, we can see that the number is low. In relation to the country's population, nevertheless, the figure is significant for a movement with a special agenda. Having 10 percent of 200 million of Indonesian Muslims supporting the Islamic radical movement is potential to jeopardize the Indonesian sovereignty.

Here, we are talking about at least ten million can be the target of Islamic fundamentalist indoctrination. And with the country's tough transition, low economy and lack of education, any radical Islamic groups can easily recruit more followers despite a number of terrorist arrests in Indonesia.

Nonetheless, some Islamic parties and organizations have been inspired by transnational Middle East version of Islam. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)—still remains as one of big political factions in the government— is a good example of an Islamic poli-

tical party that follows the teaching of Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim brotherhood) of Egypt .

Having motivated by the al-Qaeda in the past, a notorious terror-ist organization led by Osama bin Laden, Jemaah Islamiyah and other Islamists in Indonesia and Southeast Asia has been modeled by the style of al-Qaeda's Islamic Arabism. In addition, both Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) also take that Islamic Arabism as their teaching direction. The Islamic Arabism also seems to have been the cloak of Islamic teaching in many *pesantren* (Islamic boarding), though not all, students at the *pesantren* are potential to breeding radicals.

And with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's having International Khila-fah Conference in Jakarta several years ago, it is no more than an evidence that the teaching of religions in developing countries like Indonesia can be potential tool to reach a political gain by building practical relationship between individuals and groups to set up imagined Islam chalipate. It is a transformation of religious political system, also known as religio-political system. This is also what Clifford Geertz claimed to be "religions mindedness," a process of how the religion ideology comes into existence. In this context, the religion ideology has potential power to ignite fanaticism and radicalization that unquestionably can erupt violence and destruction. Any religion in this position will have two

functions; building better integrity among its followers while creating conflict and violation.⁷⁵

The tragedy of Bali bombs, Australian Embassy bomb in Jakarta and other brutal acts done by anarchists like those from Islamic Defender Front (FPI)—where they use violence and destructive acts to close down businesses that they think is not in accordance of sharia like bar and café since they sell alcoholic beverages— are examples where fundamentalists have shown intolerant exclusiveness and belligerent sense of supremacy in facing minority communities.

While such brutality to some people is no less than a destruction by anarchists, many perceives that the stark terror attitude is a pure motivation by a number of Islamic extremist groups having their hidden agenda, such as extremist wings of Darul Islam.

According to Sidney Jones, many thing that we can learn from history of Darul Islam that have relevance to Indonesia today-and not only about how a radical movement can adapt to transformation of time and producing new generation, but also about bad effects when unsatisfied in local regions neglected by national government; danger of using radical Muslim groups for political interest; how important cross-generation bound so the future of children of

⁷⁵ See Herdi Sahrasad and Aulira Rachmat, “Ideologisasi dan Transnasionalisasi Agama.”

extreme group members have to be concern; and how prospects to Daulah Islamiyah is still alive.⁷⁶

Kartosoeswirjo, who proclaimed Negara Islam Indonesia/ Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) in August 7 , 1949, arrested in 1962 and then executed by shooting group; many of his top adjutants are prized amnesty and fund to back to their live as citizens in a program of previous "deradicalization". But, until today, Kartosoeswirjo become inspiration for all groups, both those prefer violent way or not, those prefer to establish Islamic state, including Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Banten group, and many fragmented groups.

Based on our field research, there are 18 millions passive members of radical Islam, Darul Islam (DI/NII) and Islamic fundamentalist, spread around Java, South and Central Sulawesi, Aceh, Riau, South and East Kalimantan, Maluku and Nusa Tenggara. This fact also simply visible in phenomenon of considerable number of Muslim who demand for Islamic Sharia, including members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI-Council of Indonesian Mujahidin) and Front Pembela Islam (FPI-Islamic Defender Front) who outspokenly rejecting democracy, forming harakah of Salafism and similar orga-

⁷⁶ Sidney Jones, "Today's Relevance of Darul Islam", *Tempo Magazine*, August, 16, 2010. During Soekarno administration, there are three regions under banner of Darul Islam (DI) rebellion namely Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoeswirjo in West Java, Kahar Muzakkar in South Sulawesi, and Daud Beureueh in Aceh, and they become hero of each region. Every figure lead rebellion opposing the republic in the name of DI, every people pay expensive for their own role, and every people become source of inspiration for new movement-their influences are still in there today.

nizations rejecting democracy both actively and passively. Millions of the Muslim groups judging democracy and secularism as “thoghut”, opposing against the teachings of Allah SWT (Theocracy).

About one to five upcoming decades, radical and anti-democracy of Muslim groups through various discourses and actions, will continuously treating Indonesia as exposure and target. If we are unsuccessful to transform them, to be humanist, tolerant, modern, nationalist and civilized, so Indonesia can be experiencing ‘Pakistanisation’ (become Pakistan in Southeast Asia) with all forms of violent and complexity inside.

In our interview with non-violent DI activists and supporters, there are 18 millions passive members of Darul Islam (DI/NII) and radical Islam in Indonesia, and there are three factions of extreme ideological loyalist in organization of Darul Islam (DI) – we could call it as Negara Islam Indonesia (NII)/Islamic State of Indonesia, parti-cipated in bombing actions, for instance in AIS and Church of Petra Koja, North Jakarta, several times ago, and also some bombing actions to churches during Christmas evening celebration, in the end of 2000. Unfortunately, DI activists was reluctant to inform clearly about the three factions. However, definitively, according to the DI activists, motive behind the bombing terror is jihad as struggle for establishing Khilafah or Islamic state.

DI or NII group networks were admittedly be assumed as specter in Indonesian politics. Is it true that NII revive? That’s difficult question to answer. However, in an occasion, NII movement is

never died. Absolutely that is not abundant. Since, as long as obsession to establish NII not yet accomplished, the groups would be exist in there. Certainly, the group's mission is to establish Islamic state.

Forthright, until now, there are not many who know about existence of NII's groups or factions. Since, activity of the group is difficult to be traced. Headquarters of the group frequently keep moving from place to place. Event, sometime their movement activities are exclusive. Thus, it is common that not all people can be included in their circle. Moreover, someone have to take oath to imam or leader (bai'at) as a requirement to become member. He also prohibited tell anyone, with the exception of member of "N-Eleven"-another mention for NII. The NII is serious issue that never away.

Throughout history, NII was for the first time declared by Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosoewirjo on 7 August 1949. At that time, District of Tasikmalaya, West Java, become first basis of NII. Then, similar groups spreading to several regions in Indonesia, primarily South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, and Aceh. For example, in October 1950, there was rebellion in South Kalimantan lead by Hadjar alias Haderi bin Umar, former shavetail of TNI (Indonesian Army), who declared as a part of Kartosuwirjo lead-DI. Afterwards, this movement successfully extinguished by Indonesian government through TNI, which catch Ibnu Hadjar in 1959. The DI also spread to South Sulawesi lead by Kahar Muzakar, in 20 January 1952. After a year, come afterward establishment of NII in Aceh by

Abu Daud Beureuh in 21 September 1953. However, some of the efforts were successfully be defeated. Event, the Orde Baru regime prohibited the DI or NII movement.

In different moment, DI activists stated that efforts to establish NII would be continuously conducted. They told, until today, there are 14 factions have high loyalty in mission to reestablish NII. For instance, Faction of Abdullah Sungkar, Abdul Fatah Wiranagapati, Mahfud Sidik, Aceh, Sulsel, Madura, KW 7, and Faction of KW 9, and several other groups. Meanwhile, NII or DI's basis are located in three places. For Java, the basis is in West Java, area of Salak Mountain and Subang. For Sumatra, its basis is in Aceh, and Sulawesi for eastern Indonesia. Even, NII claimed have 18 million followers of various circles: ordinary people, farmer, student, military and government official. Whole of them spread across Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

According to DI activists, the first to sixth factions are radical Muslim groups with violent character. On the contrary, seventh to thirteenth factions prefer non-violent movement. The first to third factions have connection with International Mujahidin Association (IMA). While, fourth to sixth factions are bombing performers and frequently used by military. When being asked about why they told the facts, anda they argued that indeed the statement is risky, however the situation will worse if they shutting mouth.

Based on collected information, apparently 14 DI's factions aim to establish DI or Islamic state regardless regional borders. However, there are 7 phases to accomplish first. The first phase is

hilful fudul, namely the phase when the prophet Muhammad S.A.W. had reached trust from various parties in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. In Indonesia, this phase is reflected in the establishment of Sarekat Dagang Islam/Islamic Trade Union (SDI) in Solo, Central Java, by H. Samanhoedi on 16 October 1905. Then, the second phase called *nubuwwah* or early step of apocalypse sending, in Indonesia, this phase simile to situation when SDI changed to Sarekat Islam, until 1928. While, the third is *hijrah*, this simile to situation when SI had been transformed to Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Islamic Union Party of Indonesia) until 1938. The next is Madinah phase, that simile to situation when Indonesia is under turbulence in several regions, around 1949-1967. Then, phase of *hudaibiyah* namely period of agreement in Mecca. Phase of *futuh Mekah* and *khalifiyah* is the last sequence.

Regarding the matter, some of DI members convinced that they are facing the phase of *hudaibiyah*. Accordingly, they see that movement have to give priority to non-violence action. Even, there is a report mentioning that several DI factions which characteristically non-violence, have planned to transform their group to a mass organization or political party. However, there are several DI's fragmented groups that "obstinate" or in opposite to their group. Today, NII or DI movement is no longer underground, but have reach to surface in line with trend in reformation era. In the era

of openness, political parties are not prohibited to change principles of Pancasila to Islam.⁷⁷

In Indonesia, since the fall of the New Order, the Islamist group has found its momentum to accelerate its political view culturally (Islamic organization) and structurally (Islamic party). The expulsion made by the New Order regime seems to be a spirit to move at the right time. The emergence of FPI (Islamic Defender Front), Laskar Jihad Ahluusunah Waljama'ah, Majelis Mujahidin, Hizbut Tahrir, Ikhwanul Muslimin (the Muslim Brotherhood), HAMMAS, and so on which is designed as a cultural movement and the glowing to build Islamic parties, such as Pui (Islamic Ummah Party), PKU (People's Awakening Party), New Masyumi, PPP, PSII (Islamic Union Party), PSII 1905 (Islamic Union Party 1905), Masjumi (Masyumi Islamic Political Party), PBB, PK, PNU (Party of Nahdlatul Ummah) and PP (Unity Party) as structural movement has become the imagination for the emergence of Islam.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Among the Muslim activists in Indonesia, there is different opinion about NII/DI movement. For instance, a social-religious commentator, Abdul Choliq Wijaya, differently argued that today NII remained as only previous Muslim discourse. Since, The arguments supported by Dr Musalin Dahlan, Muslim figure who has close connection with NII, insisted that NII tend to remain as only previous Muslim discourse. Because today Muslim is rather tend to propose issue of implementing Islamic sharia than to establish NII (Negara Islam Indonesia).

⁷⁸ Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002) p. 93. See, Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam, Dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme Hingga Post-Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), p. 37. See also, Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam*, transl.(Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2002), p. xiv-xvi.

Two strategies of this movement become important when the regime provides fresh air of freedom after a long political Islamic movement marginalized by the New Order regime. Thus, it results the Islamic parties (PPP and PBB) which fights for the Jakarta Charter through constitutional democracy (parliament) and the radical Islamic mass organizations that fight for Islamic law (*shariah*) through cultural channels; Islamic da'wah and the rallies for demonstration, both to parliament and to state palace. This collaboration seems to be a significant force to make gradual changes in social systems and state of Indonesia. In turn, attributes, slogans, and the names of Islam is very often summoned as part of the power stage and the stage of the struggle.

Radical Islamic movements are venturing into the Muslim majority areas around the world. Indonesia and Malaysia, the statistically Muslims majority, have symptoms of the globalization of radical Islam. This fact can be seen from the development of Abu Sayyaf group led by Abu Bakar Janjalani in the Philippines, the Laskar Jihad and the Islamic Defender Front (FPI), Hizbut-Tahrir, the Mujahideen Council, the Muslim Brotherhood, and so forth in Indonesia, and Malaysian Mujahideen Group (KMM) an organization under the umbrella of PAS in Malaysia. They are considered having developed their operation for several years, raising funds, training the militia, building materials and experience to fight the West (United States), besides fighting to spread radical Islam. Therefore, by the Western media, they are often called Islamic fundamentalist groups.

Since the decade of the 1970s Islamic movements have been in the center stage, from Malaysia to Senegal, from the Soviet Union (Russia) to the periphery of Europe, inhabited by immigrants who have been settled. The rise of Islam, according to Gilles Kepel (1996), is as part of an underground movement to re-islamize everyday life traditions and reorganize individual existence in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Book. More clearly, Hermann Frederick Eilts (1987) pointed that the rise of Islam began since the fall of the Shah of Iran Reza Pahlavi, marked then by the emergence of Imam Khoemaii as leader of the Iranian revolution. Moreover, the last phase of the mid-1970s there was turbulence in Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan which brought an awareness from the West about the rise of "militant Islam" or "the awakening of Islam".

The Muslims interest to the radical movements in Indonesia in reality caused by several factors.⁷⁹ First of all, a very rigid religious doctrine with calling back to the classical period of Islam in *kaffah*

⁷⁹ See, AE Priyono, "Fenomena Terorisme Agama dan Kebangkitan Neo-Fundamentalisme Islam di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru", in *Jurnal Demokrasi dan HAM*, Vol.3, No.1, Januari –April 2003, p.6-34. See also Olivier Roy, "Neo-fundamentalism", (it's a respon for 11 Sept. tragedy) in site of *Social Science Research Council* (SSRC). See also Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, (London: I.B. Tauris & CoLtd, 1994). About influence from Wahabism in Indonesia, see also, Hamid Algar, *Wahabisme* (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 2008). Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam, Dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme Hingga Post-Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), p. 37. See, Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam*, transl. (Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2002), p. xiv-xvi. Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002), p.93.

manner (wholly). This view shows their literal understanding of religious texts that must match, or the same as the behavior of the Prophet. In fact, Islam is a religion of context, according to the changing times. In turn, they frustrate against the world changes so rapidly, while the Muslim response is very late and left behind, comparing with Western secular society. It is not surprising, if modern concepts, such as secularization, democracy and human rights as a Western product, are radically rejected. The process of radicalization is caused by a religious doctrine which is understood in the literal and rigid, so it is difficult to find the relation to the modern world.

Second, the rulers who marginalize precisely increase Islamic radicalism. Two regimes experienced by Muslims, Sukarno and Suharto regime, have shown an adverse political policy for Muslims. Since Islam has not been accepted as the state basic principles in 1957, radicalism has risen excessively. Darul Islam movement is a proof of how Islam should be the basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia. Similarly, a project of New Order's depoliticization of Islam that managed to suppress political Islam on the national stage, such as the prohibition of Masyumi, party fusion made to share the power of political Islam, and the application of a single principle of Pancasila which are imposed upon all political parties and mass organizations have been Muslim disappointing. All this situation make Muslims frustrate and launch dissident

movement to the ruling regime.⁸⁰ In fact, the tough attitude of the rulers who demonstrated to Islam as "extreme-right" aroused radicalism in the Islamic community.

Third, people experiencing secularisation, moral decadence and the crisis of leadership established people belief that Islam is the solution. Free sex, abortion, juvenile delinquency, bikini, weak rule of law (corruption), and the leader of the nation's morals guarantees that secularization has failed to become part of national life. Therefore, Islam is the right solution, by applying Islamic *shariah* law. Growing radicalization among Muslims is a domino effect from bad and broken social system that no longer heed the rule of religion. That's why, they believe that Islam can solve all problems, in which there is no corruption, the relationship among teens become more Islamic, and there is no moral problems in the land of Indonesia.

Fourth, the spread of radicalization is also influenced by discourse and the Islamic movement in the Middle East such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb (Muslim Brotherhood), Abu A'la al-Mawdudi (Jamaati Islami), an-Nabhani Taqiyudin (Hizbut-tahrir), Lutfi Sayyid (Takfir wal-Hijra) Hasan al-Turabi (National Islamic Front/NIF), Sheikh Abbasi Madani and Ali Benhadj (FIS), Sheikh Yasin (Hammas), Refah (Turkey), Taliban (Afghanistan), al-Mujahideen (Iraq), Jam'iyah Ruhaniyah Mobarez

⁸⁰ See Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002).

(Iran), Hezbollah (Lebanon), Wahhabi (Saudi Arabia), the Hizb-Nahdlah (Tunisia), and al-Ikhwan (Syria).

Muslim Radicalism and Islamic Chalipate Entering The 21st Century

In the early 21st century, since the advent of terrorism in Indonesia, the phenomenon of the rise of radical and fundamental Islam becomes a discourse in the media. Not all radical and fundamental Islam is the perpetrator of terrorism. But acts of terrorism are often connotated and associated with the radical and fundamental Islam, especially after Imam Samudera and his friends were arrested after the 2002 Bali bomb blast.

From our experience in Indonesia, conversation and debate about the existence of Jemaah Islamiyah who was accused by the US/West as a terrorist forces and the Al Qaeda network in South-east Asia are vaguely still going on at the grassroots level, intermediate and elite. From mass media office space, hotels, universities, mosques to coffee shops, Islam and terrorism sometimes become public conversation, especially among people who still care, especially when the terrorist bombings happen again. Jemaah Islamiyah is active underground, a radical Islamic organization that has the imagination, dreams and ideals to realize *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate) in Southeast Asia.

Amid concerns over the threat of Muslim terrorism and the complexity of the problem, there is old longing behind terrorist actions in the 2002 Bali bombing, the 2003 Jakarta Marriott bombing,

2004 Jakarta embassy bombing and the second Bali bombing in 2005 as a resonance-ups with the bombing of the WTC 11 September 2001, a shadow flashed that implied Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia as the desire of the perpetrators.

Almost impossible that the violence and cruelty of terrorists with the main actors as Dr Azahari, Imam Samudera and Nurdin M Top stored in their mind and soul desires and ideas for the realization of the Islamic chaliphate in Southeast Asia, which they hope can become a strong, peaceful and adequate *Daulah Islamiyah* to protect the *ummah* from the attacks of Western modernism and global capitalism that create the structural violence in the Muslim world.⁸¹

In this context, it has become a social reality that the radical and fundamental Muslims in Indonesia, Moro, Southern Thailand, Malay-sia and South Asia as well as Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia seem to have the congruent and similar will and imagination, about the importance of the envisioned Islamic caliphate. They longed for a fair, noble, wise and prudent Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia to overcome injustice, chaos and defeat of the people from secular modernization and global imperialism that is characterized by a large and intensive westernization. The activists and terrorists of fundamental and radical Islami at the beginning of the third milineum turned out to have the imagination to establish the

⁸¹ They spread pamphlets summoning Muslims to build *Daulah Islamiyah* and Islamic caliphate in South East Asia, they claim doing such brutally terrorism actions for jihad to build *Shariah* law.

Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia to face Western modernism and the hegemony of global capitalism as an "alternative ideology", beyond capitalism and communism. The search process for the establishment of "Islamic institutions" for Islamic caliphate model by radical and fundamental Muslims facing "giant wall" to break the "structure of political opportunity" that have been structured by mondial modernism and capitalism stelsel. Difficulties and failure to penetrate the structure of political opportunities and defeat to face Western hegemony often encourage violence-style state terrorism *a la* the United States/West which caused many casualties. In the midst of the swift flow of globalism (imperialism) that makes the world go helter-skelter—as if the humankind in *juggernaut*, borrowing Anthony Giddens' word—the radical and fundamental Muslims in Southeast Asia try to build imagined community and solidarity with their own way respectively.

Muslim Communities and Islamic brotherhood in Southeast Asia have been built since the era of SM Kartosoewirjo in the archipelago, though defeated and failed to realize the envisioned caliphate⁸². Even the radical and fundamental Islamic activists who recognize the importance to build a government under the Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia, even through violence as a symbol and the resistance fact against global imperialism of the United States/West. "The defeat of the Ottoman Caliphate in Turkey must be found its solution by establishing the Islamic caliphate in Southeast

⁸² An interview by the writer with radical Islam activists and DI in Jakarta, September 2004 dan 2005.

Asia. We imagine there are, but do not know when it might be realized," said a radical Islamic DI activist who declined to be named in a discussion with the Indonesian and Western scholars in Jakarta.

Discourse and action plan for the establishment of Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia first appeared in the Malaysian government allegations against an activist Jemaah Islamiyah, Fikiruddin, known as Abu Jibril, from Indonesia, who built his base in Malaysia. Meanwhile, the Darul Islam activists who attended the meeting in Rabithah Mujahideen Malaysia, Moro and Indonesia admitted that the idea of the Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia, which is intended to strengthen the pan-Islam to face secular modernism and U.S. hegemony/West is also supported by a delegation from Southern Thailand, Myanmar, and Cambodia, also Indonesia, Southern Philippines, and Malaysia. Even the representatives of GAM (Aceh) come several times. In addition, meetings conducted by Robithah Mujahideen—a forum that facilitates the formation of this regional caliphate—are often attended by delegates from Afghanistan, Jordan, Algeria, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia.

Indonesia, which has a strategic potential in assisting the movement to form the Islamic caliphate with an open political climate that allows them to create network freely and recruit fundamentalists and radicalists also jihad volunteers. The exodus of the Malaysian radicalists and fundamentalists to Indonesia establishes a well-organized network pattern in underground structures, which remains centered in Malaysia. This then forms a network in South-

east Asia that covers an area of the Indonesians, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore.

The five countries become a basis of the hardline Islamic movement to recruit members and develop a strategy of struggle. Except for Singapore, in which they do not have a strong bearing capacity, in four other countries they have a historical capacity and social facts that there are radical Islamic movements.

In Indonesia, besides as Muslim-majority country, there are also a lot of Islamic movements. Malaysia has Islamic Party (PAS), Malaysian Mujahideen Group (KMM), and Maunah Group. In the Philippines there is Abu Sayyaf Moro Liberation Movement which still continues to struggle to break away from the Philippines. In Thailand, the Islamic movements based in Pattani are fighting the central government.

This phenomenon is the impact of the ekstension of Islamic movements which according to Olivier Roy (1992) are initially dominated by the three geographical and cultural tendency: (1) Middle East-Arab, Iraq-Sunni, (2) Iranian-Shi'ite, and (3) Afghanistan, Pakistan, India-Sunni.

Now, these three patterns have the equivalent in other places of the network pattern formed by the new geographical and cultural tendencies, namely: South East Asia-Malay-Sunni, including Malaysia as the center, Indonesia as the main target, and the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore as a regional next target for the development of the network of the Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia.

The emergence of the idea of the Islamic caliphate can not be separated from the re-airings “Ngruki Network” characterized by the formation of MMI (Indonesian Mujahidin Council) when on 5 to 7 August 2000 held their first major meeting in Yogyakarta, which was attended by various groups which support that idea. During the meeting, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was appointed as Commander of the Mujahideen (jihad movement leaders) with the basic tasks to prepare for implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia. He added that the task of the MMI is laying the foundation for the establishment of a new form of international caliphate.⁸³

The emergence of an international caliphate idea actually came from Suryahardy Irfan (Irfan S. Awwas), whot has been jailed by Soeharto's New Order for 13 years because of charges of subversion. In the 1980s, Irfan became an activist in Sudirman mosque in Yogyakarta, publishing a periodic newsletter *Ar-Risalah*. Irfan is also a younger brother of Fikiruddin alias Abu Jibril, who is later revealed to be one of the founders of KMM. As believed by Sidney Jones, the idea of a universal caliphate is an indication of the strengthening influence of Hizbut Tahrir—a Jordanian militant

⁸³ "Khilafah Made in Yogya" in *Risalah Kongres Mujahidin I dan Pene-gakan Syariah Islam* (Yogyakarta: Wihdah Press, 2001), p. 335. 22 Islamic political groups that represent 17 Islamic organizations non-party and 5 political parties which have so far been recorded, identified that 15 of them struggled for the formation of "Islam state", including in it is supported through the parlia-mentary process by 3 political parties (PPP, PDI & Golkar) that control the 78 seats in the House today. For the table on this data, see Van Zorge report on Indonesia, "Indonesian Islam", p. 10-11. For this article, see AE Priyono, “Fenomena Terorisme Agama dan Kebangkitan Neo-Fundamentalisme Islam di Indonesia pasca Orde Baru”, p.6-34.

Islamic organization that really likes this theme—in Indonesia. However, Irfan denied Sidney Jones' report (ICG) about the "Ngruki Network and Jemaah Islamiyah"⁸⁴.

⁸⁴Irfan Awwas implies that if we read reports submitted periodically by Sidney Jones, no doubt, it makes a lot of people fooled. But for activists, the report should be dealt carefully and thoroughly. When a group of people, called in response to some of the messages that have been published by ICG, Irfan said he wasn't surprised: "It's just a game" I believe, said Irfan, Sidney Jones is a scientist, as he had hoped that sooner or later she will return to the nature as a scientist, that is to give priority to the truth and defend intellectual honesty. According to Irfan, in the 1980s, when rampant cases of subversion Amnesty were identical with the radical Islamic movements and many Islamic activists were arrested and treated unfairly by the New Order government, Sidney Jones with International flags appeared as sympathetic and humane defender. She documented many court proceedings, trial documents, and other data. All them turn out to be a valuable thing post-WTC 911, something that may be unexpected, even by Sidney Jones herself. Technically, the data collection undertaken by Sidney Jones and later published in the form of periodic reports is no need to argue with. Jones is considered by Irfan quite experienced in that field. However, there is also undeniable thing that intelligence accompanies her motion of steps, especially in the era of U.S propaganda of anti-terrorism, whether it's foreign intelligence like the CIA, which of course cooperates with intelligence agency and local NGOs in Indonesia. Each published report is completed with footnotes, clear references and sources, either from the mass media, books, interviews, or the intelligence documents (information). For those who are in the "field" when reading the ICG report, although it takes a little time, it still can be felt which part is derived from the intelligence documents (information), clear information and only fiction. In fact, ICG report on terrorism mostly comes from the documents (information) of local intelligence. So, in the era of President Megawati (2002-2004), the ICG report on terrorism that was under the negative glare and assessed insulting by the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) invited a big question mark. On behalf of the government and asking for support from Commission I House of Representative, BIN chief AM Hendropriyono (25/05/2004) to take a deemed appropriate action, deporting Sidney Jones and issuing her as someone who is not liked by the people of Indonesia. But Irfan was wondering, "Why now? If the ICG report on Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and terrorism, especially related to Indonesia, is valued spreading false news, why it is not disclosed from the beginning?" Read more Irfan's

Dreams and imagination about the establishment of this Islam caliphate, which originated from the Darul Islam activists and "Ngruki Network", are modeled to represent the main characteristic features of political and ideological movement championed by neo-Islamic fundamentalists. Both groups, borrowing AE Priyono perspective, are also shown here to represent a stage of the political programs of neo-fundamentalist that reject the prevailing political system. In the case of the Darul Islam, even it represents a rejection of the existence of the legal and political realities of the Republic of Indonesia; while the "Ngruki Network" take a rejection towards the concept of nation-state because of his choice to create a regional caliphate system.

In Indonesia, outside Darul Islam (DI) and the "Ngruki Network", the various thematic and strategic elements of neo-fundamentalism is also found in the programs pursued by other political-Islamic groups, including those working in the system, namely the Islamic political parties. The extent to which their intersections with patterns made by the extreme factions such as the Darul Islam and the "Network Ngruki" is still being an important study that needs to be deepened again⁸⁵.

In an effort to establish the Islamic caliphate as a response to global imperialism, liberal Islam and Western secular modernity, the political themes of the Darul Islam movement, KMM, Moro and

correction/criticism on Sidney Jones in his in writing, *Sidney Jones and Terrorism*, *eramuslim.com*, June 11, 2004.

⁸⁵ See AE Priyono, "Fenomena Terorisme Agama dan Kebangkitan Neo-Fundamentalisme Islam di Indonesia pasca Orde Baru."

"Ngruki Network" strongly reflect the characteristics of the ideology of neo-Islamic fundamentalism: the enforcement of Islamic sharia literally and formally; the opposition of the political structure and social system based on Western concepts of secular nation-state with the formation of an alternative Islamic society (*Jamaah Islamiyah*), and the idea of an Islamic state (*Daulah Islamiyah*) which is conducted with the absolutist and anti-pluralist approach, partly based on historical attitude of the Islam international reality of Islam continuing to retreat as a geostrategic factors, and partly based on the apocalyptic view of the political-religious mission.

Various circles see the a-historicism and apocalypticism that became characteristic of the last two movements of political neo-Islamic fundamentalism, as shown in the themes championed by the Islamic fundamentalist movements. Although it still causes a big puzzle, beyond economic and politic explanations that underlie their emergence, exactly that puzzle stores extraordinary strength of these movements.

Kartosoewirjo's Thought in Southeast Asia

S.M. Kartosoewirjo's thoughts of *Daulah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate), however, show how he has a 'right' point of view in looking at the meaning of integration that is not only limited to the bond of nationality, but much more widespread: to the bond of universal thinking about how law must be enforced to regulate the balance of life. He has initiated an action to be fair starting from thinking. However, he was tolerant towards other roads chosen by

people: *"Keep march, and I also march, although the direction is different."* The Kartosoewirjo Daulah Islamiyah movement at first gets a strong foothold in Aceh region led by Daud Bereueh, Maka-sar (South Celebes) and South Kalimantan region led by Kahar Muza-kar. But with time, eventually the Islamic movement that requires a caliphate in Southeast Asia grows in the diaspora to South Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines and Indochina. For Kartosoewirjo and his followers until today, the ideals of the Islamic Caliphate in Southeast Asia is an imperative matter and becomes utopian energy to make it happen in Southeast Asia.

So, the Kartosoewirjo's ideal of the Islamic Caliphate grows not only in Indonesia but also in Southeast Asia up to this 21st century. Many followers of Darul Islam still continues their struggle for their Islamic Caliphate in Southeast Asia by forming new organizations such as Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and other clandestine groups. Jemaah Islamiyah itself is an Islamic militant organization in Southeast Asia that seeks to establish an imagined Caliphate in the countries of Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philip-pines. As we have known, Jemaah Islamiyah has a relationship and got financial assistance from other terrorist groups like Abu Sayyaf and al-Qaeda. Jemaah Islamiyah has taken action the Bali bombing in 2002 and in these attacks, suicide bombings of the Jemaah Islamiyah killed 202 people, injured several others at a nightclub.

Jemaah Islamiyah is also suspected of carrying out the Zamboanga bombings, the bombing of Metro Manila, and the bombing

of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, 2004. Although JI was accused of bombing at the JW Mariot, Jakarta, Abu Bakar Bashir's connection with that action proved otherwise by the court. JI is suspected of bombing the Australian embassy in Jakarta on September 8, 2004 that killed 11 people Indonesia (no foreigners were killed) and injuring over 160.⁸⁶

JI wanted the establishment of the Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the

87 Rohan Gunaratna revealed that "Abu Bakar Bashir is a leader of, but the man who introduced Al Qaeda to the region is Abdullah Sungkar. Until December 1971, Abu Bashir worked as a preacher and in 1975, the New Order repressive developmentalism regime banned the Islamis Boarding School he has opened. On November 1978, Abu Bakar Bashir was jailed for three and a half years for "trying to establish an Islamic state of Indonesia whilst denigrating the nation based on Pancasila". Gunaratna noted that "during his appeal against the sentence he escaped to Malaysia in 1985 and later met Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. Thereafter he worked on behalf of JI in Malaysia and throughout Southeast Asia. Abu Bashir and the late Abdullah Sungkar fled to Malaysia from Indonesia in 1982. They became tutor in Malaysia and has many followers in the country. They considered an operation to develop JI in Southeast Asia in 1998. But Abdullah Sungkar is dead, while Abu Bakar Bashir is still alive and denied any involvement with JI and claimed not to know anything about JI."

According to International Crisis Group's reports, "this time that he considered his followers founded the Jemaah Islamiyah and also to spread to Singapore and the Philippines. JI members make and distribute pamphlets, but not terror. Bashir called for jihad but he would not resort to violence."

According to intelligence reports, "Bashir met Riduan Isamuddin, or Hambali in the early 1990s at a school founded by Bashir in Malaysia, in which Bashir in exile. Bashir became the political leader of the organization while Hambali became the military leader. In 2000, Hambali is considered to perform a series of bombings of churches Kristen. Hambali arrested in Thailand on August 11, 2003. In this regard, a British national who was born in Australia named Jack Roche claimed to be part of JI's plans to blow up the Israeli embassy in Canberra, Australia on May 28, 2004. He was sentenced to nine years in prison on May 31. This man claims to have met with Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan."

Philippines, Brunei, and Cambodia, and if true, this caliphate will be in control of South China Sea which is a major shipping lane and into the gates of most of Asia and the Indian Ocean. This country also has a large air space and is a major trading power that involves India, Africa, and Australia.

Various reports in 2002 revealed, the JI was first involved himself as a terror cell groups that provide financial and logistical support for Al-Qaeda operations in Southeast Asia. Hambali set up a company called Konsojaya to assist money laundering in support of the plan, including support of Operation Bojinka that failed on January 6, 1995. This is an evidence that JI as a new organization formed by Darul Islam activists, still going on in Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Phillipine and Thailand, for instance) eventhough it is very likely they have changed the name of the organization and it ramifications today to cover their activities.⁸⁷

Foreign Intelligence agency reported that Ayman al-Zawahiri and Muhamad Atef visited the Mollucas and West Papua in 2000. At that time, both areas affected by long-running conflicts, thus conforming Al Qaeda's preference for regrouping. In areas where the rule of law weak.

In this case, it is rather clear that, there is connection between Al Qaeda and JI in which they have common interest to defend the claimed Muslim interest and to operate "violent action" in the name of Islam, by which then Al Qaeda provided assistance to setup net-

⁸⁷ See Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press, 2003)

work and activity of military training in Poso, Central Sulawesi in 2001 following the long -running Christian-Muslim conflict in Ambon and Poso.

As in Indonesia, Malaysia is home to many Islamist parties and groups, some of which support Al Qaeda's aims and objectives. To push aside the radical Muslims linked Al Qaeda, Malaysian government quickly clamped down the Islamic groups supporting Al Qaeda in many ways. But In Malaysia there is also Political Islam represented by Malaysia Islamic Party (PAS), as the only Islamic party, which until now exists in the election competing against the government party, UMNO. There are also Progressive Islam groups, which bring progressive ideas about democracy, human rights, gender, and freedom of thinking, like Zainah Anwar (Sisters in Islam), Chandra Muzaffar (JUST), and Farish Noer. Besides, there are also radical Islamic groups which can not afford the risen due to repression of the Government of Malaysia. Then, they become a minority group whose existence is not clear. The Mujahideen of Malaysia (KMM), Maunah (*Pencak Silat* 'traditional martial art' organization), and of course, Jemaah Islamiyyah. The Malaysian Foreign Minister said the KMM was planning to attack a US naval vessel before 9/11. In December 2001 and January 2002, Malaysia arrested a total of 47 suspects linked to Al Qaeda and more are believed to remain at large. KMM also poses a threat to regional security because it has links with MILF or ASG (Abu Sayyaf Group)

Phillipines, even KMM trained militant groups in Mindanao and procured weapons from Thailand and Phillipines.⁸⁸

In Malaysia, KMM engaged in series of robberies and in May 2001, two of its members were killed and six captured during an attempted bank robbery near the capital. The development of radical Islam in Malaysia can actually be seen more clearly after the Racial Riots of 1969, with the emergence of *pencak silat* organizations that have Islamic orientation and tend to millenarian. These groups can be traced backward to the armed Sabililah movements that attacked Chinese settlements in rural areas and defended themselves during the Chinese-Malay clashes in late 1945, after Japan had surrendered to the British. Lots of college students became a member or supporter of those *pencak silat* organizations.⁸⁹ KMM is an underground organization, associated with and connecting to the DI/NII in Indonesia, and they have clandestine network. In addition, many alumni of the Afghan jihad join the KMM, and once helped the jihad in Ambon and the Philippines. Some KMM members who get represif actions from the government are accommodated by PAS. In fact, PAS institutionally also assists them legally when arrested.

The exodus of radical Islamists from Indonesia to Malaysia and vice versa, from Malaysia to Indonesia, forms a neat pattern of

⁸⁸ Simon Elegant, "Getting Radical", *Time Asia*, September 10, 2001. See also, Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press, 2003), p.196.

⁸⁹ Khamami Zada, "Terorisme dan Gerakan Islam di Malaysia", *Kompas*, December 2, 2005.

network in the underground structure, with the center remains in Malaysia. This then forms a Southeast Asia network covering the region of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore. Indonesia, besides a Muslim majority country, also has various Islamic movements. Malaysia have the Islamic Party (PAS), KMM, and Maunah group. In the Philippines there is Abu Sayyaf Moro Liberation movement that continues to struggle to break away from the Philippines. In Thailand, the Islamic movements center in Pattani which fight against the central government. All these radical and fundamentals Islamic movements have the imagination and dreams to realize Daulah Islamiyah (Islamic Caliphate) in Southeast Asia. They want the caliphate could be established soon, in a contextual way, tactics and strategies to confront the dominance of Western modernism and against mondial global imperialism.

The radical and fundamental Islamists imagination on the Islamic Caliphate in Southeast Asia reflects the depth of the utopia and dreams of the glory of Islam in the past, which must be realized in the present situation with all its challenges and obstacles.

What surprises us, when the world has so much changed from the era of Caliphate in Arabian Peninsula Medina, in Southeast Asia, various radical and fundamental Islamist groups just do not want to change and want to re-establish the past Islamic Caliphate with the various steps and actions in Asia hemisphere, with the utopia and complexity of problems and political irrationality. To some extent, the Muslim radicalism and their imagine about Islamic caliphate in Southeast Asia are reflections of their *Longue*

Duree dreaming under hegemony and domination of the West. And today, many Muslims, as Mohammed Arkoun states," are still imagined as inferior (to Jewish and Christian traditions), unchanging and militant by the West; and superior, dynamic and peace loving by Muslims."⁹⁰

In this context, one should remember that discourse and action by the radical Muslims in Southeast Asia have used complex combined legitimation including theological authorization: scriptural interpretation of The Holy Quran and Hadith; rationalization: crisis of global capitalism, economic inequality and disparity, corruption, exploitation and imperialism and moral legitimation: pornography, free sex, alcoholism and so forth.⁹¹

So, indeed, the discourse, action, imagination and utopia of radical Islamism to setup Islamic Chalipate in Southeast Asia is a real resistance and alternative toward secular modernism and global capitalism. Even for the radical Islamists in Southeast Asia today, it is a *longue duree* struggle against hegemony and domination of Western capitalism that exploited and humiliated the Islamic World from Middle East & North Africa to South and Southeast Asia, for a long time. Most of the radical Islamists have

⁹⁰ Mohammed Arkoun, "Rethinking Islam Today", *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 588 (July 2003), p.18, as quoted by M Steven Fish in his book, *Are Muslims Distinctive?: A Look at the Evidence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.385.

⁹¹ Cherry Augusta, *Counter Cosmopolitan Islamist: Complex Legitimacy of Transnational Islamist in the Limits of Nation State*, unpublished MA thesis, Political Science Graduate Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (Yogyakarta: University of Gadjah Mada, 2011).

seen that the struggle against the hegemonic Western capitalism is a never ending journey to exert their dignity and ideal. Is this an absurdity or just a mere repetition of history, *L'histoire se repete*? The Islamic scholars or you might be able to provide the answer, rather than the writer. *Wallahualam*.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM, THE WEST AND WE

A West Islamologist, William Montgomery Watt, stated that he saw the prospect of Islamic fundamentalism—especially among the Sunni—is very bleak and hopeless, unless the movement crosses over to the side of Islamic liberalism, which is mainly reflected in the ideas of Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988) and Mohammed Arkoun. Although the perception of Watt has also a strong Christian bias, but it reflects the "western way of looking and thinking" about Islamic fundamentalism, which they worry and fear it will be a source of violence and inconvenience of "the non-Islam" with the legitimacy of the concept of religion as a backrest concept and action.¹

By capturing the views of Watt, it is clearly implied that Islamic fundamentalism in the Western sense is a political phenomenon or Islamic political movements, which are considered "dangerous", against capitalism and secularism. This view is parallel with Karen Armstrong who stated that fundamentalism is a movement based on spirituality to deal with what is perceived as a threat, pressure and the dangers of secularism to religious life.

¹ William Montgomery Watt, *Fundamentalisme Islam dan Modernitas*, (Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada, 1997). Watt said that Islam becomes an opposition's hot spot of Soekarno and Soeharto in their time. See, Karen Armstrong, *Battle for God* (Guttenberg Project, 2000).

Since communism collapsed and was delegitimized, Islamic fundamentalism has become an issue and a very strong political commodity, especially in the Western World. In a general sense, fundamentalism is an attempt to overcome the rigidity of Islamic thought. Ibn Taymiyyah stated fundamentalism as a *mujaddid* movement (reformer) trying to criticize, and erode any faith, beliefs and practices beyond Islam which try to infiltrate the Islamic teachings into the teachings of Islam.

Ibn Taymiyyah summoned the ummah to come back to the Quran and Sunnah, open the door of *ijtihad* and oppose *taqlid*, so he is often called the father of Islamic fundamentalism in the modern era. He criticized the ignorance of Muslims about Sharia, heretical practices and shirk as a situation of ignorance (*jahiliyah*) before the birth of Muhammad PBUH. His ideas gained their foot in Wahhabi movement in the Arab region until now.

Towards the end of the XX century, an articulator of liberal democracy, Francis Fukuyama ² saw that Islamic fundamentalism had emerged and become a danger to the West. Why? Fukuyama said, because the Muslim community feels very threatened by Western values that are imported into the

Muslim world and there is a feeling of what the Muslim dignity is so deeply wounded by its failure to maintain the cohe-

2. Francis Fukuyama declared that the Islamic Revolution in Iran is a fundamentalism Islamic movement, and he refused to say Tehran as a democratic government, because Iran does not protect the minority and does not guarantee human rights. See Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Free Press, 1992).

rence of the traditional society and the success of Western values that have penetrated the Muslim world, making Muslims experience of alienation, anomie, insecure and discouraged.

That painful fact, compounded by the way and model of the Western media in the character assassination against Islam. Akbar S. Ahmed³ shows how the Western media has been successful in building a negative image of Islam, so that Western societies reject Islamic values such as tolerance, egalitarianism and a love of science, reject universalism of Islam.

In fact, according to Akbar Ahmed, Islam and humanism greatly appreciate the virtues of Nelson Mandela, Mother Teresa and Vaclav Havel. But, the West refuses to humanism of Islam. These facts have made ummah in various parts of the world community to take their own initiatives and ways according to their circumstances and social conditions against modernization, Westernization and secularization.

In the context of globalization in this third millennium, perhaps the definition that is the closest to the objective truth about Islamic fundamentalism is the Fazlur Rahman's.⁴ In general, Rah-

³ Akbar S Ahmed, "Media Mongol at the Gates of Baghdad", in Nathan Gardels (ed), *At Century's End*, (New Perspective Quarterly, ALTI Publishing, 1995). Ahmed has similar and parallel views with Edward W. Said in his book *Covering Islam dan Orientalism*.

⁴.Aswab Mahasin, as quoted by Jalaludhin Rahmat, in "Islamic Fundamentalism, Myth and Reality", *Prisma Extra* No. 1984. About Fazlur Rahman and the view of Ibn Taymiyyah, see the essays of Nurcholish Madjid and Djalaludin Rahmat at the same *Prisma* magazine. See also, Fazlur Rahman "Non-Muslim

man said, fundamentalism is now interpreted as a movement against Westernization and secularization in the Muslim world. Islamic fundamentalism, according to Fazlur Rahman, is a movement that displays Islam as an alternative system, as the liberating force, which liberates the ummah ideas from any old traditions before and Western intellectual and spiritual domination. Because of a liberation movement, then fundamentalism is very close to a political struggle.

There is also awareness of the ummah that globalization is a new "political" imperialism of the West characterized by the spirit of Islam-phobia. Borrowing Hannah Arendt words, all the "politics" is a struggle to seize power, in which the ultimate kind of power is violence. Here, the power and violence at the same time is a necessity.⁵ In the situation where global capitalism devastates the Muslim world, leaning on religion is the last option for the ummah to hold out, rebel and survive, regardless of the risks and consequences that will happen. Just to illustrate, in the case of the despotic and authoritarian Shah Reza Pahlevi regime, Islam emerged as an ideological revolution.

Therefore, the West and Islam are now either symbolically or characteristically standing face to face "for a fight". At this level, once the West worried about A Million Ummah Rally in Monas

Minorities to an Islamic State", *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affair*, Vol.7 No.1, 1986.

6. See Hannah Arendt, "All politics is a struggle for power, the ultimate kind of power is violence: Reflections on Violence", in Robert B Silvers et al (Eds), *The First Anthology* (New York: New York Review Book, 1993).

Jakarta which is regarded by the U.S. and the West as a symptom of Islamic fundamentalism, "imaginatively" they could justify even though they were difficult to understand. Moreover, we (Al Chaidar), chairman of the rally, (openly, fairly and crazily) provoke the masses on the idea of Indonesian Islamic State (NII) to solve the horizontal and then vertical riots in Ambon, Moluccas, to end Christian-Islam conflict in the region.

Practically, facing the political language of Islam with the NII's symbol, the West was very suspicious. The reaction of the U.S.⁶ and Western officials in the Rally of a Million Ummah is a statement about the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia. And it's not new. Since the era of the Crusades around 9-11 century, the West has always been anxious and excessively suspicious against Islam. Such attitudes is articulated by Samuel Huntington as "the clash of Civilization", although this view is mistaken and misleading. Huntington's views are parallel to the perception of Michael Walzer's in 1980s which depicted fundamentalism of Islam as "the Islamic Explosion," in which Islam plays an important role in the murders, wars and violent in structured conflicts.

Back in the context of Indonesia, under economic crisis at that time, Islam was able to be used to express the opposition if the

⁶. "The reaction of the U.S. ambassador to the UN and U.S. officials/West on the Rally of a Million Ummah," *Kompas, Republika, Reuter, AFP*, January, 9-10, 2000. Gus Dur at that time responded, *jihad* or *jahit* (Indonesian word, 'sew'), he did not care, but he insists to refuse the Islam mass mobilization to the Moluccas. Gus Dur's statement invites a reaction from Muslims and non-Muslims in a democratic and transparent manner.

ummah felt the political pipe clogged up and injustice was rampant and widespread. Here, borrowing James Piscatori discourse,⁷ Islam as an expres-sion of opposition and political attitudes is relatively very striking, relevant and effective.

In this context, we can ask: Can the case of Matori Abdul Djalil gashing and NII (N-Eleven) KW9 ala Abu Toto be linked to Islamic fundamentalism? These two phenomena are more as a "crime" that have economy motives, a "crime" of relatively exclusive, extreme and having violent structure. If the phenomena are suspected as a "movement" politically motivated, it could be still a puzzle for it is not showing "resistance to authority".

If there is a presumption that the Matori gashing and diversion Abu Toto KW9 NII are considered by a party as Islamic fundamentalism, then borrowing Aswab Mahasin's discourse, it is clear there has been a fundamentalism decadence appearing as an emotional and violent exclusivism.

However, do not underestimate and misunderstood of Islamic fundamentalism, because the government of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) also "need" to use Islam as "political merchandise". By allowing the development of fundamentalism, he could build the country's economy based on West sympathy against the destructive Islamic dissident groups. On the grounds that there are fundamentalists who threaten the community of democracies, the world

⁷ James Piscatori said, "*Islam can be used to express opposition*".... James Piscatori, "Islam dan World Politics", in John Baylis and NJ Rengger (Eds), *Dilemmas of World Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Pres, 1992).

"democratic regime" like the U.S. and other Western countries will disburse funds to build a clean democracy, with no element of Islam that "pesters" it. In addition, the negative benefits of fundamentalism can be a positive function for the development of the nation: the fundamentalist with its utopia energy succeeds to control the state power practices that tend to discriminate the Muslims.

A concrete example of the use of fundamentalism is how the United States managed to take advantage of radical Shiite community in France to overthrow the Shah of Iran in the late 1970s. When the Shah of Iran intends to manufacture a weapon with the helps the "deceased" Soviet Union, the United States is very angry. Because of having non-interference politic against domestic political policies of Iran, the U.S. ran the defection program from outside. The defection program was done by supporting radical Shiite community in exile, France, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini. What the U.S. did is a kind of "political compress" by utilizing the fundamentalist groups far from their domestic solidarity in Iran. Then through a sophisticated intelligence organization, political lectures and speeches by Khomeini were recorded on magnetic tape Basf then it was dispersed throughout Iran. And in Iran, this political verbal was played with a verbal tape-recorder made by the U.S., JVC, which is consumed by a lay audience who were familiar with Khomeini's political idioms. And, when that political verbal had been disseminated and contaminated the Shah Reza Pahlavi political buildings, Khomeini returned home by the Pan-Am plane. Then, Iranian fundamentalism revolution broke out,-which Michael

Foucault called a post modernism revolution-, so the purpose of US thwarting the development of the arms manufacturer was reached.

U.S. political objectives are only a short-term thinking that utilizes all the destructive resources to destroy its opponent. But it forgot the warning of John Maynard Keynes, in the long run we're all death. In the 1980s after the revolution, one by one political assassinations occurred and claimed the future generations in the name of religion (Homicide in the name of religion).

That is why, in addressing the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalists, the last frontiers, the intellectuals and the elite society should not only be in an ivory tower and not see a religious fundamentalism with narrow spectrum and myopic, it needs not to be phobia. Because, a multi-dimensional perspective will open eyes, minds and hearts about what, how and why the issue of Islam fundamentalism is relatively easy to "go international and go public". The presence or absence of Islamic fundamentalism can not be separated from the West and our own interests, and partly depends on how we manage conflicts and collisions.

Muslim's Belief in a Reformer

Muslims believe in the advent of reform or renewal. Sunnis cited a hadith which conveyed to them by Abu Huraira: "Allah sent at the end of each century a man to his people to refresh His religion and set it back."

And we know, for about a thousand years in the past, that belief has crept into the brain and a conscience of Muslims thought

that – at first among the Sunni, then Shia – that at the beginning of every century a reformer will arise.⁸

In historical perspective, the dream of the coming of the reformers is often understood as milinearism or mehdiism (messiahism), who dream of Imam Mahdi coming, who in the traditional context is often called as the King of Justice. However, the reformer in the 20th century proved up to the Iranian Revolution under Ayatollah Khomeini, in which Islam (Shia) became the ideology of the revolution, while in Indonesia a resistance/turbulence emerge provoked by Darul Islam in Aceh, Java and Sulawesi with the Islam ideology. So, the inter-pretation, understanding and perception of Islam undergo enlighten-ment and review, as well as deconstruction.

Islam is transcendental teachings and is always understood by the socio-cultural context surrounding them. Thus, the phenomenon of Islamic civilization and social reality in the life of mankind are always subject to change. From time to time, Islam and its community change their interpretation and develop and become a dynamic source of reference for generations, not just a ritual value with dry and empty meaning. Prediction by Western intellectuals such as Harvey Cox and Donald E. Smith that the modernization/westernization in Indonesia will have implications for bankruptcy and the exclusion of the religion in human life misses and is not

⁸ Murthada Muthahhari, *Gerakan Islam Abad XX*, transl. (Jakarta: Bumi Cipta, 1986).

proven. For the people of Indonesia, Islam rises when modernization heavily permeates people's lives with all its excesses and its impact.

Since the beginning, Islam in Indonesia is not Islam that disconnects from its historical roots in the Middle East. And in the eyes of Western society, in Indonesia, fundamentalism and revolutionary ideology also rise of among the radical Islam, which its international ties are affected by the Iranian Revolution and Islamic movements in the Middle East. But, this perception needs to be studied and pondered again, because it misleads. Indeed, Islam in Indonesia does not have to hesitate, be anxious and afraid to "speak honestly", show its vision of humanism, its open discourse, sincerity and not anti-criticism.⁹

In this context, the structure of the Medina State as the reference for the reinterpretation of the Islamic ummah needs to be asked again to see its value and substance relevance in today Indonesia.

The choice of form and structure of the Medina State, which becomes the locus and the icon of pluralistic Islamic society, should be openly debated and discussed by Indonesians with its diversity and full of conflict potentials. Indonesia ersatz capitalism, bor-

⁹ See Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Reformis, Dinamika Intelektual dan Gerakan*, (Jakarta: Raja Grasindo Persada, 1999). See also, Abd A'la, "Menuju Islam Substansial", *Kompas Newspaper*, September 24, 1999. For further descriptions see M Tahir Azhary, *Negara Hukum: Suatu Studi tentang Prinsip-Prinsipnya Dilihat dari Segi Hukum Islam, Implementasinya pada periode Negara Madinah dan Masa Kini*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1992). Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955).

rowing Yushihara Kunio's discourse, has failed to improve human dignity, even the economic crisis and disintegration stick to the surface, immo-bilizing the joints of nationality.

The modern secular intellectuals of the New Order, borrowing William Liddle's words, also failed to realize a just, emancipatory and humanist development characterized by business and hundreds of trillions rupiahs banking scandals in the chain of corruption, collusion and nepotism. Case of Ambon, Mataram, Moluccas, Aceh and so on has increasingly shown that the system of our country has too much load, even overload and not able to aggregate and solve crisis and socio-economic conflicts.

If we do not want to waste the social, economic and ecological cost that have been sacrificed and destroyed by the New Order, it is the time for us to begin the total reform for the resolution of all political and economic problems in this country. And, only by bringing forward a substantial Islamic reform alone we will be safe from the possibility of a series of further destruction and carnage.

Reform in Islam finds its synonymy in terms that we often hear *tajdid* (reform). Prophet Muhammad PBUH is a *mujaddid* (reformer) who turns ignorance people of Mecca into Islamic society filled with the treasures of civilization, culture and institutionalized human rights.

What has been done by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH was a total reform against the social, economic, ideological, political, cultural and military system. Thus, as the Western world also acknowledges, the rule of Islam is a very brilliant symbol of progress in

politics. In Islamic terms, this power becomes something inherent in the teachings acquired through a socialization of awareness using the Quran and the history of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH that led to the conquest of Mecca under the power management of Islamic order.

Power is not a pleasure to be inhaled and enjoyed, but a (trust-worthy) responsibility that must be endured and held accountable before God, in democracy it is held before the people openly and honestly. Having power does not mean to control the political power and enjoy the resources oppressively, but a heavy political accountability is contained in it. Therefore, politics, as one aspect of Islamic culture, grows in a discourse of devotion (subject to the sacred orders or authority, divine imperatives) and the practice of power structures.

According to A.H. Johns, for Islam, a stable political power is characterized by an initial belief that "Muslim community should be governed by the best Muslim." And we can see it in the era of the State of Medina. In the State of Madinah, the moral equation of all followers of Islam and the need of people governed by the laws of God is realized. And, this then becomes the ideal for all Islamic thinkers, no matter the difficulties to adapt it into the existing political realities.

Islam has done a deconstruction, in a general sense, against the premise of a lot of knowledge that developed over the years. To avoid misunderstanding and phobia against Islam, the characteristics of the community and the Islamic system which is then

actualized by the Prophet in Medina, known as the Medina State, with its Medina Charter, is described as follows:

First, the Medina State is a State with belief in it, which from the point of its formation and its existence it is upright on a basis of complete philosophy, suitable for Indonesia with its plural society and as Muslim majority. Its foundations are belief, the conception of being, ethical philosophy that emanates from it the moral system, law and public relations. It is not as described by some people who refer to Western thought, which is the state of religion, which is limited to a religious belief that is unseen and ordinances of worship and rituals alone.

Second, people should not describe the State of Medina with its existence as a religion or civilian state through the Western sense (Europe). Medina is the state of law (nomocracy) which is much better than the state of religion (theocracy, like the Vatican). One can not—because of his/her religious position—interpret religious texts or law by himself/herself. The common problem should be solved through a conference and there is an obligation for the sons and daughters of Muslims to master a special branch of science. Every body has right to put forward arguments and evidences in the conference on a problem.

Third, the State of Medina (Islam) is a moral and humane country. The purpose of this country is not solely seeking power, wealth and foster military glory. The real goal is nothing but a man freed from all bondage, tied it with a more noble bond, which is submission to God alone and uphold justice among all mankind.

Therefore, in the Islamic state the human moral precedes other purposes such as economy, politic and military power. Thus, it differs from the States whose sole purpose is to multiply the production or expand the influence (dominance) and power. In Islamic State all subjects must follow the moral criteria and values.

Fourth, the State of Medina is a civilized country that guarantees plurality in accordance with the Charter of Medina. This country does not only limit itself in its duties to maintain security and protect its territory from aggression, but more than that, it has positive goals and guidances the field of economy, science and all the tools that give benefit for people in general.

Fifth, the State of Medina has a sturdy base and development in its structure. Unlike secular authoritarian state, or *mulk tabi'i* in Ibn Khaldun's conception, which is not clearly enough its purpose, the State of Medina is actually quite adaptive to absorb political science and democracy, far beyond social democracy in Europe, the United States, UK and any other countries in this world. In the Medina State, a detail and certain rules is handed over *ijtihad* and the human mind and it could be changed when the situation warrants it. That way, the State of Medina (the Islamic system) accepts other forms of state, adaptive to different conditions and changes in successive levels of society.

For our society context which has been confined under the shadow of the modern Javanese power under Suharto and Sukarno's Guided Democracy, the substance of Medina State system should be taken as the only answer to survive in the world and also

in the hereafter in a *Baldatun Toyiyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur* (a state of prosperous, safe, tranquil and full of God's forgiveness).

If in the past, to the West learnt from Islam for its civilization, why now not? The East actually learns from them now, and the West has yet to complete all the lessons that exist in Islam, why Muslims who have knowledge of Islam shut down and hide the lesson. Though, Allah SWT has proved it in Cordova (Spain), and God will not reject of His promises.

Was not Cordova imitating the system of Medina State proved to be very civilized, just and emancipatory? Our plurality should encourage communities to search system ala Medina State, which has repeatedly been articulated by Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid, the two *santri*¹⁰ scholars. This is important because we have to find the "Anthony Giddens third way" beyond capitalism and socialism by ourselves. By guaranteeing and efficiently utilizing the plurality and freedom to search it, our nationality views will not be monolithic, obsolete, and ahistorical, but it will contextually adjust with the changing times.

¹⁰ *Santri* is an Indonesian word referring to the students who live in Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*).

ISLAM, FUNDAMENTALISTS & DEMOCRACY: A PERSPECTIVE

*I*n the late twentieth century, fundamentalism has emerged as one of the most powerful forces at work in the world, contesting the dominance of modern secular values and threatening peace and harmony around the globe. Indonesia as a centre of social pluralism and multiculturalism has been target of terrorist attacks in recent years, reflecting a formidable threat to peace and stability in the capital town.

Jakarta and Bali bombings in the past were the perfect crime of the movement of Islam fundamentalism that has been new horror in Indonesia.

There have always been people, in every age and in each tradition, who have fought the modernity of their day. But the fundamentalism that we shall be considering is an essentially twentieth-century movement. It is a reaction against the scientific and secular culture that first appeared in the West, but which has since taken root in other parts of the world. The West has developed an entirely unprecedented and wholly different type of civilization, so the religious response to it has been unique.

The fundamentalist movements that have evolved in our own day have a symbiotic relationship with modernity. They may reject the scientific rationalism of the West, but they cannot escape it. Western civilization has changed the world. Nothing —including

religion— can ever be the same again. All over the globe, people have been struggling with these new conditions and have been forced to reassess their religious traditions, which were designed for an entirely different type of society.

Fundamentalist Groups & Democracy

Yet it remains incomprehensible to a large number of people. *In The Battle for God*, Karen Armstrong¹ brilliantly and sympathetically shows us how and why fundamentalist groups came into existence and what they yearn to accomplish. The militant religiosity that we call fundamentalism has surfaced in all the major faiths in the twentieth century. It constitutes a reaction against and a rejection of modern Western society, but it is not a monolithic movement. Each fundamentalist movement has emerged independently and is a law unto itself, sometimes differing from (or in violent opposition to) other fundamentalist movements within a single faith tradition. The fact that fundamentalism has erupted in almost all cultures indicates a wide-spread and worrying disenchantment with modern society, which so many of us experience as liberating, exciting and empowering. Countries such as the United States, Egypt and Israel are deeply polarized, split into two camps, one which feels positive about secular modernity; the other passionately hostile to it. As the century draws to a close, these two camps appear to be in an incipient state of war, as witnessed in such

¹ Karen Armstrong, *Battle for God* (Guttenberg Project, 2000).

incidents as the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma; terrorist attacks on foreign tourists in Egypt, designed to bring down Mubarak's government; and the assassination of President Yitzak Rabin in Israel. One of the most dangerous aspects of the fundamentalist phenomenon is that it seems incomprehensible to the liberal or secular world. The two camps within the same society scarcely speak the same language and have few values in common. Projects that can seem self-evidently good to a liberal –such as democracy, peace-making, concern for the environment, the liberation of women, or freedom of speech– can seem evil or even Satanic to a fundamentalist.

Recently fundamentalists have masterminded critical historical events such as the murder of the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin, the September 11 tragedy, and the frequent suicide bombings characteristic of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These are examples of the kind of dangerous activities in which fundamentalists are reacting to modernism. Though the perpetrators come from different religious backgrounds, they share a common characteristic, that is - religious fanaticism.²

Fundamentalism is one of the most widely discussed phenomenon of the 20th century. It has always been a part of the world views of radicals practicing the world's major religions, not only Christianity and Islam, but also Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Confucianism. There is no lucid definition for the term "funda-

² See, Karen Amstrong, *Battle for God*.

mentalism". Initially, the term was used by American Protestants in the early 1990's to differentiate themselves from the more liberal Protestants. Since then the term "fundamentalism" has been more freely used to refer to the purification movements to be found within all world religions. Therein all fundamentalist movements share certain approaches in that fundamentalism is a defense mechanism which arises as a reaction to a threat or crisis (Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 1991)

The main argument in this book revolves around Armstrong's conception of the world's belief systems as being divided into two dichotomous categories: "myth versus *logos*" and the "conservative" versus the "modern." Drawing on other social scientists work, she argues that humans have developed two ways of thinking and obtaining knowledge. Johannes Sloek similarly terms them -- "myth" and "*logos*," in his book of Devotional Language. Therein myth is a form of mystical knowledge, having an abstract supra-logical object, based not on fact and its truth capacity as determined by sense. Myth cannot be confirmed by rational evidence while *logos* depends on it, i.e. is a rational, pragmatic and scientific form of thinking. *Logos* is related to the facts and external realities, consequently it can be proved empirically.

Fundamentalist is a term used since the 1920's to refer to the most religiously conservative group within Christianity.³ Within

³ Its roots in Christianity can be traced to the late 19th Century as a reaction against liberal movements of Biblical criticism and analysis. A 1909 publication "*The Fundamentals: A testimony to the truth*" proposed five required beliefs for

Judaism, Islam and other religions, the term is used to refer to the extreme conservative wing who Karen Armstrong defines as "embattled forms of spirituality, which have emerged as a response to a perceived crisis" — namely the fear that modernity will erode or even eradicate their faith and morality.

The term has three additional meanings in general usage that cause great confusion: a "snarl" word, used by some non-Fundamentalists to imply intolerance, bigotry, lack of flexibility and an anti-intellectual bias. When applied by the Western media to Muslims, it often means "anti-American".⁴ When used by conservative Muslims themselves, it refers to a person who strictly follows the teachings of Mohammed, and who promotes the concept of theocratic government.

Karen Armstrong's book, *Islam, A Short History*,⁵ is a concise, eminently interesting, and quite useful work of art. When the work comes out in paperback- and I hope it will somewhere down the line- I'll use it as a class text. The first eighty pages are an intro-

conser-vative Christians; they are listed above under "Evangelicals", items 1 to 5. Funda-mentalists generally believe that other wings of Christianity, and other religions, are false. The largest Protestant denomination in the U.S., the Southern Baptist Con-vention, has recently transitioned to Fundamentalism. Bob Jones University, the General Association of Regular Baptists, the Moody Bible Institute and other groups are also Fundamentalist. Among the most generally known leaders are Jerry Falwell, Bob Jones and Hal Lindsey.

⁴ B.A. Robinson, *Tolerance*, Copyright © 1996 to 2001 incl. by Ontario Consultants on Religious Originally written on: 1996-MAR-11.

⁵ See Karen Armstrong, *Islam A Short History* (New York: Modern Library Chronicles, 2000), p.164.

duction to Muhammad's life, to the establishment of the Muslim community, and to the situations facing this community from the time of the Prophet's immediate successors though the Umayyad dynasty and the early days of the Abbasids. I have yet to find a text that covers for students all the early Islamic historical information I think is important to cover in the amount of time I have, but Armstrong's book "fails" me only in one or two minor areas: I like a little more on Bedouin culture and pre-Islamic Arabia. These shortcomings are almost nugatory in light of how well Armstrong does the rest. The remainder of the book deals with the "Culmination" of Islam, including the Crusades and the period of the Mongols; with "Islam Triumphant" (section 4), which is an introduction to the Safavids, the Moguls, and the Ottomans; and final section that looks at the difficulties Islam has faced in its increasing contact with the West. This last section includes a clear discussion of the move from agrarian societies to technological societies in general, and the difficulties concomitant when modernization is forced upon colonial lands: a situation faced by a number of countries with large Muslim populations. The explanation is helpful in putting not only Islamic fundamentalism into context, but any fundamentalism. And, as Armstrong points out, Islam was the last of the three Abrahamic religions to develop a fundamentalist strain. She presents fundamentalism as "a global fact that has surfaced in every major faith in response to the problems of our modernity".

Armstrong's presentation of the problems facing Ali and the early Shiite community is both sensitive and succinct. She weaves

the development of Shi'ism in through a number of other topics, but she does so as well as any study I've seen, including much larger works. Although she only alludes to the miraculous powers described by authors like Amir Moezzi, she does include the clairvoyance many other authors do not even mention in relation to the Shiite Imams, and she explains (again, clearly and summarily) how the Zaydis and the Ismailis split off from the Twelvers and the main philosophical tenents that distinguish them. It was in part because of the smoothness of this "weave," and in even larger part because of Armstrong's sensitivity that the words "work of art" were chosen in the first paragraph above. She has taken on nearly all of the West's unenlightened fears, criti-cisms, and misunderstandings regarding Islam (inferior status of women, the veil, fundamentalist violence, polygamy...) and shown how they fit into the Islamic context in a manner that is lucid and compassionate.

Armstrong, a self-avowed woman without religious affiliation, is here working to help us understand one another at the deepest level, but to do so without glossing over difficult issues and with the scholar's insight. The West must bear some measure of responsibility for the development of the new radical form of Islam, which in some hideous sense comes close to our ancient fantasies. Today many people in the Islamic world reject the West as ungodly, unjust, and decadent.⁶ The new radical Islam is not simply inspired by hatred of the West, however. Nor is it in any sense a homo-

⁶ Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad - A Biography Of The Prophet*.

geneous movement. Radical Muslims are primarily concerned to put their own house in order and to address the cultural dislocation that many have experienced in the modern period. It is impossible to generalize about this more extreme form of the religion. It not only differs from country to country, but from town to town and village to village.⁷

We constantly produce new stereotypes to express our apparently ingrained hatred of 'Islam'.⁸ Another theme of the new fundamentalism has been an attempt to get Islamic history back on the right track and to make the umma [Muslim community] effective and strong once again. The Iranian revolution was not just an atavistic return to the past, but an attempt to impose decent values in Iran again.⁹

Western commentators often use –or misuse– terms taken from Christianity and apply them to Islam. One of the most commonly used is fundamentalism. As we know it, in its original application it means someone who believes in the fundamentals of religion, that is the Bible and the scriptures. In that sense every Muslim is a fundamentalist believing in the Quran and the Prophet. However, the manner that it is used in the media, to mean a fanatic or extremist, it does not illuminate either Muslim thought or

⁷ Michael Gilsenan has argued that the differences are so great from one district to another that the term 'Islam' or 'fundamentalism' is simply not useful in defining the current attempt to articulate the experience of people in the Middle East during the post-colonial period.

⁸ Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad - A Biography Of The Prophet*, p. 42-43.

⁹ Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad - A Biography Of The Prophet*, p. 265.

Muslim society.¹⁰ In the Christian context it is a useful concept. In the Muslim context it simply confuses because by definition every Muslim believes in the fundamentals of Islam. But even Muslims differ in their ideas about how, and to what extent, to apply Islamic ideas to the modern world.¹¹

Mainstream Sunni Islam is possibly the most broad-based, tolerant form and certainly the one with the largest number of followers – almost ninety percent of Muslims are Sunnis. However, the Wahabi school within the Sunnis believes in a strictly literal interpretation of the Quran. It dominates Saudi Arabia, which has a small population of about ten million but huge influence because of its oil revenues and as guardian of the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah. This school would interpret everything in the Quran literally: thus the chopping off of hands, death for adultery, and so on.¹²

Fundamentalism is a term popularly used to describe strict adherence to Christian doctrines based on a literal interpretation of the Bible. This usage derives from a late-19th- and early-20th-century trans-denominational Protestant movement that opposed the accommodation of Christian doctrine to modern scientific theory and philosophy. With some differences among themselves, fundamentalists insist on belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth and divinity of Jesus Christ, the vicarious and atoning

¹⁰ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Living Islam*, p. 55

¹¹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Living Islam*, p. 18-19.

¹² Akbar S. Ahmed, *Living Islam*, p. 208.

character of his death, his bodily resurrection, and his second coming as the irreducible minimum of authentic Christianity. This minimum was reflected in such early declarations as the 14-point creed of the Niagara Bible Conference of 1878 and the 5-point statement of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1910.

The name fundamentalist was coined in 1920 to designate those "doing battle royal for the Fundamentals." Also figuring in the name was *The Fundamentals*, a 12-volume collection of essays written in the period 1910-15 by 64 British and American scholars and preachers. In the 1970s, '80s, and '90s, however, fundamentalism again became an influential force in the United States. Promoted by popular television evangelists and represented by such groups as the moral majority, the new politically oriented "religious right" opposes the influence of liberalism and secularism in American life. The term fundamentalist has also been used to describe members of militant Islamic groups.¹³

Now that the Cold War is becoming a memory, America's foreign policy establishment has begun searching for new enemies. Possible new villains include "instability" in Europe —ranging from German resurgence to new Russian imperialism— the "vanishing" ozone layer, nuclear proliferation, and narcoterrorism. Topping the list of potential new global bogeymen, however, are the Yellow Peril, the alleged threat to American economic security emanating from East Asia, and the so-called Green Peril (green is the color of

¹³ Paul Merritt Bassett, *Grolier's Academic American Encyclopedia*.

Islam).¹⁴ That peril is symbolized by the Middle Eastern Moslem fundamentalist – the "Fundie," to use a term coined by The Economist¹⁵ – a Khomeini-like creature, armed with a radical ideology, equipped with nuclear weapons, and intent on launching a violent *jihad* against Western civilization.

George Will even suggested that the 1,000-year battle between Christendom and Islam might be breaking out once more when he asked, "Could it be that 20 years from now we will be saying, not that they're at the gates of Vienna again, but that, in fact, the birth of Mohammed is at least as important as the birth of Christ, that Islamic vitality could be one of the big stories of the next generations?"¹⁶

Islam in Indonesia

Indonesia, where nearly 90% of the populace is Muslim, is the world's largest Islamic country. However, Islam has never played a central role in the country's politics. Nevertheless, there has been a persistent tension between those advocates of a more prominent and formal role for Islam in the country, and those who resist making Islam an organized political actor. In the late 1980s, under the now defunct New Order era of former President Suharto,

¹⁴ Leon T. Hadar, University professor, and former bureau chief for the Jerusalem Post, describes the creation of the myth of Islamic fundamentalism by the US foreign policy establishment. See his work "The Green Peril: Creating the Islamic Fundamentalist Threat" Policy Analysis No. 77 August 27, 1992.

¹⁵ "Fear of Fundies," *The Economist*, February 15, 1992, p. 4546.

¹⁶ "This Week with David Brinkley," *ABC News*, December 29, 1991, transcript prepared by *Graphic Journal*, p. 6.

there was an effort to reach out to Muslims and Islam in a more explicit way. The main reason for this was President Suharto's desire to widen his power base beyond the military and the secular ruling political party, Golkar. A symbolic indication of this effort was President Suharto's decision in 1990 to make his first trip or Hajj to Mecca. Other steps on the path to Islamization of the New Order regime included reversing the ban on the wearing of jilbab (head covering) for female students in state-run schools and the founding of the country's first Islamic bank.

Roughly a decade after Suharto's attempt to encompass Islam in the political sphere, the New Order collapsed. On 21 May 1998, President Suharto resigned. In essence, the effort by Suharto to widen his political base by reaching out to Islam did not prevent the fall of his regime. While Suharto's efforts in the preceding several years to cultivate Islam may have re-invigorated Islamic groups and organizations, the current evolving role of Islam in the politics and policy-making of post-Suharto Indonesia is likely to be more sustainable than it was at the beginning of Suharto's New Order era. A major reason for this expectation is that there has been, over the past decades, a surge in religious consciousness among many circles within the Indonesian Muslim community.

A central point about the Islam in Indonesia is that it is not monolithic. A key divide, other than the differences between "traditionalists", "modernists" and "fundamentalists", is that between those working for the Islamization of Indonesia and those who wish to Indonesianize Islam. In some measure, the debates over the role

of Islam in Indonesia have been between *santri* (devout Muslims) and the *abangan* (nominal Muslims). The New Order era largely succeeded in suppressing this basic (and overly simplified) dichotomy.

In the immediate post-independence period of parliamentary democracy, Muslim political parties did in fact play an important role in politics. A number of the Prime Ministers of the period were from the largest Muslim political party, Masjumi. But divisions and differences amongst the various elements that comprised the party led to the weakening of political Islam in Indonesia.

As Sukarno issued in the era of guided democracy, the fortunes of almost all political parties began to flounder. The Masjumi was banned in 1960 on the basis of allegations that its leaders were active in a regional rebellion. Other Islamic groups also began to come under Sukarno's control. The rise of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and Sukarno's growing support for it put Islamic parties and groups even more on the defensive. However, given Islamic cooperation with the military in the context of the fall of Sukarno in 1965, it appeared that Islam might yet again play a stronger role in the country's politics. This did not materialize however.

While working to diminish the role of Islam in the politics of the New Order, at the same time the government encouraged Islamic religious and ritual activities to flourish. Such encouragement took the form of government-sponsored proselytizing, the increase in Islamic publications and the construction of mosques. In

essence, Suharto's New Order took a dual-track approach to Islam. On the one hand, it resisted any political role for Islam while on the other it promoted Islam as a private religion.

Between the political and the private, a third dimension of Islam in Indonesia has been its societal role. In this realm, Islam retained an important, and in fact increasingly influential position. For example, Islamic organizations as mass-based movements focussing on social and educational activities remained important aspects of the Indonesian landscape. However, as the two largest Muslim organizations, the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama suggest, even as a social force Islam in Indonesia is not monolithic. Still three developments arising out of the societal role of Islam in the last decade or so of Suharto's rule have set the background to the role of Islam in the country today. First, members of the Muslim middle class are now culturally and intellectually more self-confident than their predecessors. Second, the Muslim middle class, while accepting that religion and society cannot be separated, including government and politics, does not support an Islamic state. Finally, there is a growing religious awareness amongst the middle class of Indonesia. The contemporary significance of such developments is that the long-standing distinctions between santri and abangan and between modernism and traditionalism is now giving way to a more complicated picture of Islam's role in Indonesian society.

Relations between Islam and the Indonesian military have been problematic. Many reasons have been offered to explain the

troubled, and at times mutually suspicious relationship. First, some in the military elite have been unhappy with what they regard as the factious and rebellious nature of the Islamic community. Specifically, the military elite have suspected that Islam has been a motivating force in regional rebellions in West Java, Aceh and South Sulawesi to name but a few. Second, the military leadership has tended to be dominated by either the abangan Javanese or secular nationalists. The non-Muslims in the military have tended to shy away from defining national identity in religious terms. Even more, the military leadership, in perceiving its role as the guardian of national unity in an ethnically and religiously diverse society, have tended to regard attempts by Muslims to express political interests through protests on economic and cultural grievances with hostility. Third, in terms of power politics, ABRI was inclined to deny a formal role to Islam out of concern that it would challenge the military's prominent position in the New Order system of government. However, in the early 1990s and since, there appear to be the makings of a greater accommodation between Islamists and the ABRI. The ABRI's suspicion about the Islamic community's rebelliousness and tendency towards factionalism appears to have abated.

In general, Islam has not had an important role in shaping Indonesia's foreign policy. There are two main reasons. First, foreign-policy making has been dominated by state institutions, and non-governmental forces have not been allowed to tread on the government's authority in this area. Second, Muslims leaders

themselves have been concerned with a relatively narrow range of international issues; particularly those that have explicit Islamic dimensions or involve the Islamic world or the Middle East. This too may be changing. Emerging leaders in the new political climate of post-Suharto Indonesia such as Amien Rais, the leader of the political party PAN, are raising questions about Indonesia's foreign policy. Two compelling issues for these persons are the international identity of the state and the country's place in the Islamic world. Related to these questions is the issue of Indonesia's relationship with the West. It is clear that new voices are emerging in terms of views on foreign and security policy in the new political climate, but it is not clear what these voices will have to say. However, it does not seem likely that the Islamic factor will emerge as a major factor or determinant of Indonesia's foreign or security policy.

Islam has not been a monolithic force in the politics of Indonesia. There have been divergent views amongst several Islamic organizations and movements, most prominently the NU and the Muham-madiyah. The New Order government's policy of diminishing the role of political parties combined with the military's suspicion of Islam, led Islamic organizations to concentrate on religious, social and educational activities rather than politics. This very shift in emphasis led to Indonesian society becoming more Islamicized, including the rise of a Muslim middle class that entered both the government and the military. These changes in part led the military to reassess its view of Islam's role in Indonesia. Moreover, in the post-Suharto context of Indonesian politics, Islam has

emerged as perhaps the most important force. Islam is likely to be a major force in the politics of Indonesia for the foreseeable future.

Southeast Asia is clearly a sub-continent in turmoil. Here I would try to provide analysis on the situation in the Indonesian archipelago. The economic growth of the so-called “tiger economy” has also been used by the bourgeois to prove the “spectacular” and “progressive” role of capitalism. But now the beginning of the Indonesian revolution collapse of these economy has put an end to the ruling group propaganda, and give a room for oppositional forces to improve condition.

Every ruling group in the world is faced with an opposition. In a real democracy, an important form of opposition can be found in representative assemblies such as parliament. In the present-day Indonesia, however, this kind of opposition is virtually non-existent because the people representative council (MPR and DPR) are representing only a small part of the people. Thus real opposition in today’s Indonesia is carried out by extra-parliamentary forces.

It is very important to analyse some of these forces in a systematic way. On the whole these forces can be divided into two broad categories. In the first one, people opposition, are ideological enemies such as, *first*, the crypto-communistic party, a PRD (People Democratic Party) which is derived from the spirit of the banned party PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) on the left and, *second*, the radical Islam –and even called in notoriously “extremist” or “fundamentalist” – DI (*Darul Islam*, Islamic State Movement) or TII (Indonesia Islamic Troop) on the right who are striving for a

nomocratic state which is in principle based on Islamic laws, *shari'a*. In other words, what this second opposition leaders want is a return to the original ideals of the Rasulullah Mohammad's Madinah State as enunciated in the seventh century.

In the second category are elements who are, on the whole, of the same ideology with the leaders of the regime is called as a bourgeoisie opposition. They are anti-communist and they welcome foreign investments for the construction of the national economy. There are, however, differences of degree. The army leaders, intellectuals and student leaders in this category accuse the regime of having 'sold out' the national resources to foreign capital for the sake of 'development'. Some of the government leaders are proviting from this state of affairs as they receive communisions and kickbacks paid by foreign companies, which go into their personal bank accounts. Concomitant to this, the regime is condemned by these critics because of its rampant, wide spread corruption which has created general demoralization and cynicism (collutions, corruptions and nepotisms) thus obstructing the vigorous growth of the nation. In addition, the violation of democracy and suppression of civil liberties, such as the freedom of the press, form the target of attack of these critics.

The mortal enemy of the Indonesian government is comprising of Islam and Communism the DI/TII and PRD/PKI. If we consider the PRD to be on the extreme left –like its predecessor– in the Indo-nesian political spectrum, then there is also opposition to the Jakarta regime form the extreme right. The later is repre-

sented by traditional Muslim leaders who aspire to establish a *Negara Islam* (Islamic State), a state based on the precepts of the Quran and devoid of the nevarious aspects of secular Western culture in the form of nightclubs, casinos, massage parlours and the like which are at present mushrooming in the bigger cities of Indonesian.

This group forms a minority considering the fact that officially nearly 90 percent of the population is Muslim and that the majority of Islamic leaders as represented in the NU, Parmusi, PSII and Perti - now all of them merged into the PPP - do not show a hostile and antagonistic attitude toward Western culture and its manifestations. For the purpose of this study, in the quest for implementation of *Shari'a* in Indonesia, are the Muslims and the non-Muslims doomed to clash violently in this century, or are there ways to reconcile the two to create a peaceful co-existence in the world?

Possibly as yet, we have not closely examined or truly understood the situation of Indonesia either through the mass media or directly, and we would probably feel amazed at how despite the size of the Islamic community there, it is historically and socio-logically capable of establishing *Daulah Islamiyyah* (Islamic State) in Indonesia today. The majority of historians write that Islam came to Indonesia by means of traders. There are those of the opinion that they came from India around the 13th century, there are those of the opinion that it came from China around the 9th century. There is also the opinion of 0those who say that Islam arrived directly from the Arab lands around the 7th century CE. During the next phase of

its Islamic development, many states of the Indonesian archipelago became Islamic kingdoms, including the kingdoms of Demak, Banten and Pasai amongst others; and *shari'a* has been part of Indonesia from the beginning.

It was through out these Islamic Kingdoms that there arose the spirit of self defense when the colonizing Dutch tried to forcibly take these Muslim States which were Indonesian. At that time the Dutch, who were notably Christian came bearing their mission of the 3G (Gold, Gospel [Bible] and Glory [Colonisation]). The Ulama and the young of the Islamic community who came from various backgrounds arose up to oppose the Colonialists with the irrefutable spirit of martyrdom (*jihad*). The nature of the Islamic communities opposition at that time was indeed still regionally sporadic, and amongst those who led against the colonialists are such are well-known names such as Imam Bonjol, Pangeran Diponegoro and Teungku Tjik Di Tiro. As to the movement on a national scale, it emerged firstly in the year 1905 with the appearance of the SDI (Sjarikat Dagang Islam) – The United Islamic Merchants– which was pioneered by H. Samanhudi. Following this organisation, came the birth of SI (Sjarikat Islam) – "United Islam" – in the year 1912 which was pioneered by H.O.S. Cokroaminoto, and during the development of this organisation there arose the PSII – "The United Islamic Party of Indonesia".¹⁷ The

¹⁷ The more interesting problem in SI movement is a new tendency brought by Semaoen who coloured this radical organization by the ideology of Communism. The organization split later, one is SI Merah (Red SI, a communist wing)

movement was orientated towards the various aspects of life – political ideology, economy and social. By the means of a long exhaustive process, in the year 1949, The Islamic State of Indonesia (Negara Islam Indonesia [NII] or Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia [DI/TII]) was formed under the leadership of Imam Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosoewirjo until he was arrested by the Soekarno regime of the Indonesian Republic. This was achieved using the Muslim hostages as human shields (*pagar betis*) in their battles against the Muslim army (TII). But, Imam Sekarmaji never surrendered to the secular enemy. Since that time until now some of the Islamic community in Indonesia –who understand these facts through many transitions and power shifts– continue the struggle to return *Daulah Islamiyyah*. This study will be interestingly to discuss how Indonesian triumphed over past Indo-nesian military interregnum, and gracefully succeded under her cur-rent political dispensation.

The supporters of an Islamic State are spread all over Indonesia but there are strong reasons to suggest that their leadership was until 1976 based in the province of Aceh, North Sumatra, as embodied in the late Teungku Daud Beureu'eh. This is the veteran muslim leader who, as a matter of fact, has always been in opposition to the successive 'secular' regimes in Jakarta since the beginning of 1945 Independence. They consider that the Indonesian

and other is remained in Islam as SI Putih (White SI). The struggle against Islam played by communist attracting many political scholar as they study deeply about the communist's strategy of deception.

government is "Colonialist". The "Colonialist Indonesia" efforts, which were held by their cadres, were capable of expressing enough success in keeping Islam away from the native Indonesians. This started with the emergence of people in the Islamic Community of Indonesia both from within the *ulama's* (Islamic scholars) themselves, their own leaders, and lay people, who distinctly stated that they did not want Islam to be the basis of their nation. In fact they had already achieved a certain threshold of fear, which was enough to discourage those people who could have raised Indonesia as an Islamic State.¹⁸

So, in Indonesia today it can be said that there is nobody who clearly states that it is obligatory for the Islamic community to establish an Islamic State. There are those who oppose and compete against Communist who yearn for the establishment of Indonesia as an Islamic State. They use various kinds of pretexts, amongst which is: "There is no *ayat* or *hadith* what so ever which orders us to establish an Islamic State." But, it must be revealed the current Indonesian constitution (UUD 1945) has provision for the *shari'a* in the Djakarta Charter (Piagam Djakarta) and this study will revealed this point that dismissed the argument whether *shari'a* is part of the

¹⁶ The latest information which is important enough to reveal at this state of affairs is that Amien Rais, a son of Indonesia, who as leader of the 30 million members of Muhammadiyah (an Islamic Organisation which has some potential in Indonesia) is closely watched and respected, stated in the "Time" international magazine (September 23, 1996 - Volume 148, no 13) in an article entitled "The New Face of Islam" by James Walsh: "I don't want to waste any energy talking about stupid issues like an Islamic State, we must have a Democratic System."

Indonesian constitution and might be possibly to urge an Islamic State democratically.

Like Kahar Muzakkar or Daud Beureueh sympathised with the Darul Islam movement of S.M. Kartosoewirjo and the Tentara Islam Indonesia (Islamic Army of Indonesia) which had respectively West Java and Kalimantan/Sulawesi as areas of operation. Both had the same aim of establishing a nomocratic state based on Quranic Law and both were suppressed by the Indonesian Army in the first half of the 1960s. If Kartosoewirjo was captured, brought to trial and later executed in 1962. Kahar Muzakkar was killed in action in February 1965.

Although it can be said that Daud Beureueh has been outside the Indonesian government since 1949, the transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch to the Indonesian people, his opposition to Jakarta was more vociferous when Soekarno was President in the period of Guided Democracy. The main reason for this was his anger because of the policies of Soekarno which were advantageous to the communist, considered by Daud Beureueh as the infidels *par excellence*. The PKI was not only hated as an atheistic party but also as an enemy which aimed to liquidating the influence of Islam in Indonesia if given the chance. This confrontation between Islam, the state and the Communist has been a track democracy observers about how their interpretations. Considering that democracy is not an event but a process, the Islam groups reinterpret the democracy practiced in Indonesia on pretext that was Communist's and secular's original creed.

With regard to the New Order regime emerged in 1967, the criticism of the radicalist right-wing group is aimed at the 'sinful' pro-liferation of nightclubs, brothels in the camouflage of message parlours or steambaths, gambling dens and other dubious attractions for tourists in Jakarta and provincial capitals. Within this context it is contended that the Government-supported Golkar should better be called *Golkur* from *Golongan Kuraish*, the aristocrats in Mekkah who were against the Prophet Mohammad¹⁹. Also criticism has been expressed against the policies of New Order President Soeharto considered to favour the Christian communities, Catholics and Protestants, in the country and to discriminate against the muslims.

Within this last context a letter written by Daud Beureueh to the President on 10 August 1974 is significant. In it the Muslim leader drew the attention of Soeharto to the fact that a wise and just leader should devote his attention to the wishes of the majority of the population. If not, this leader cannot be considered wise and just. He is then a leader who is *zalim* (tyrannical) and a stupid fool'. History has shown that tyrants in the end will be destroyed so that this should be taken as a valuable lesson. Soekarno (the first President of Indonesia) was afraid of Islam and the forces which could be generated by the *ummat* (Muslim community). He looked for an opponent and enemy of Islam and found this in PKI. Soe-karno incited the communist to attack Islam, so that the *ummat* would not

¹⁷ *Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta, March 21, 1977.

become strong. 'But Allah intervened, you (Soeharto) were moved to destroy them (the commu-nist) and finally also Soekarno and the communist whom he had encouraged and aided, were destroyed'.

Daud Beureueh continued in his letter: "Now I observe that you (Soeharto) are also afraid of Islam and the potensstialities of its *ummat*. You are now searching for an adversary of Islam. The communists are no longer here so that you have found the disciples of Christianity as a strong and powerful rival. What are you actually seeking? You encourage them, support them, you incite them to attack Islam, the religion of Allah, so that the *ummat* remain weak and powerless. Secondly I also observe that you are keen on expanding your own personal power. But believe and I hope you would prevent history from repeating itself. What has occurred to Soekarno and his communist friend, could take place again. May however history not repeat itself and destroy you and your friends. Therefore, Brother, return to the real and correct path. You being a Muslim, help Islam and its *ummat*. By doing this you would have placed the demands of the majority of the people high on the list of priorities without forgetting nor neglecting the other groups in Indonesian society. Trust and believe that your victory, power and greatness will be dependent for a great part on the majority of this country, the *ummat* Islam. Only if you devote the necessary attention to it and evaluate it correctly, will you succeed in this and

the next life. I hope that my advice and message will be of use to you.”²⁰

Needless to say this letter infuriated the ruling group in Jakarta in a tremendous way. It seems that the contents have never been published in Indonesia itself. Baihaqqi A.K., a lecturer at IAIN (Islamic College) ‘Jamiah Ar Raniry’ at Banda Aceh got hold of a copy of the letter and showed it to some people. As a consequence he was arrested and kept in jail for three months. In the end Daud Beureueh’s message to the President was apparently one of the factors for the later to advise the Indonesian Council of Churches (PGI) not to organise the fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Jakarta as originally planned.²¹

The opposition of Daud Beureueh to the regime is based more on moral force than on armed strength. Differing from the Darul Islam and the Tentara Islam Indonesia of the 1950s and 1960s which were movements supported by armed units, the radical right-wing Islamic group has no soldiers under its command. It is, however, a potential hearth of unrest for Jakarta as the pronouncements of its leader could incite the Muslim masses and alienate them from the

¹⁸ The letter is published in *Impact International*, London, May 9-22, 1975.

¹⁹ See *Indonesia: Feiten en Meningen* (Amsterdam, June 1975), p. 13, as quoted by B.J. Boland, *Pergulatan Islam Dalam Politik di Indonesia*, (tr.) (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1984).

regime. The ultimate weapon of the movement is the threat of secession from the Republic.²²

At next phase there seemed to be a new version of the movement called the *Komando Jihad* (Holy War Command). Some of its leaders have been arrested. One of them, Haji Ismael Pranoto, was brought to trial in Surabaya in September 1978. He was accused of having attempted to establish an Islamic State with the support of an army with its main base in Central and East Java near Blitar. At the end of the trial Pranoto was sentenced to life imprisonment. Some Muslim circles contend that the Jihad Command is an invention of the regime with the purpose of discrediting the Islamic State supporters. If so, the trial of Pranoto is nothing else than a sham.

The biggest danger of Islam in Indonesia is not radicalist but fundamentalism who manipulate of Islamic practices by the ultra-right groups. This manipulation of Islam has been done by the ultra-right groups and the military by raising the sentiment of racism, anti-Christianity and anti-Communism against the democratic mass movements, in several parts of Indonesia. Like the white terror in Banyuwangi East Java, Ketapang Jakarta, Kupang, Sambas, Mataram and other regions and the formation of the para-military groups to attack the students and people's demonstrations. Indonesia as the largest democracy in Southeast Asia is important to the United States and Western countries. If Indonesia goes down so

²⁰ This was once wielded by the same Daud Beureueh in the 1950s against the Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet and only skilful negotiations between Jakarta and the Achehnese prevented a national disaster at that time.

does the sub-continent. The issue of *shari'a* and Islamic State has to be addressed carefully.

Meanwhile the real Islamic forces grouped in Darul Islam are those which consistently oppose militarism. The Islamic groups in Aceh, Lampung, Tanjung Priok and others have held lots of demonstration to protest the massacre of their community by the military. Politically, they are also anti the Dual Function of the ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces). So it is also important for the PRD to have tactical alliance with such Islamic forces to build an anti-militarism front.

In Indonesia itself, Islam is not a representative of a social class or political interest. It is divided into different political groups based on their social taxonomy. NU (Nahdatul Ulama) for instance, it represents Moslems whose social basis is peasant with the remnants of feudalism in political and cultural life. Muhammadiyah and ICMI (Association of Indonesian Moslem Intellectuals) represent the modern Moslem whose social basis are traders, intellectuals and professionals. Islam does not either represent a social class. Because it has bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie and workers.

In Indonesian history, the Islamic political parties like Mas-yumi and NU used to be a reactionary forces which had roles in slaughtering millions of members of the PKI. But the other period of Indonesian history also shows that Islamic forces like SI (Syarekat Islam) was a progressive force. We can not generalize whether Islamic forces is progressive or reactionary politically. And the fact is that nowadays there are Islamic forces which are anti-militarism

and can be pushed toward the formation of the anti-militarism front. Indonesia is not facing fundamentalism as a real threat, but militarism and the civilian-military or civil militia collaboration. This means that co-operation with Islamic forces which are anti-militarism as tactical alliances need to be taken by PRD to fight against militarism and to anticipate the scenario of civilian-military collaboration. In short, the strategy at the moment is to build a broad tactical alliance with all radical oppositions against the Habibie and Abdurrachman Wahid regime and military during 1996–2000 and the tendency of the bourgeois opposition leadership.

The betrayal of bourgeois oppositions have at least two negative impacts towards the democratisation in Indonesia. Firstly, they give the old repressive power of Suharto regime and the military which is already cornered to come up again on the political stage and do offence Secondly, they moderate and lower the increasing degree of the resistance of the people. In short, they blunt the main contradiction in the society.

Under such Western type of civilization built by New Order Soeharto administration of developments, it is no wonder if now the military rise their confidence. If in last November 1998 the military was the common enemy, now they do lots of provocation by shooting the cabs of demonstrators and drive their tanks to campuses. Under the name of securing the "free and democratic" election supported by the bourgeoisie, they now become more repressive and provocative including by training 40.000 para-military

personnel as guards and securing forces for the coming General Election on June 7, 1999 and the Assembly.

Western society has changed the world by introducing a new type of civilization, based not (as in the pre-modern period) on a surplus of agricultural produce, but on technology that enables us to reproduce our resources indefinitely. This type of civilization depends upon a scientific and empirical rationalism, which is not constrained, as in the pre-modern world, by spiritual, religious or mythological values. It took the peoples of Western Europe and America almost three hundred years to develop this kind of civilization; it was a highly complex process, that involved advances in several fields and on various fronts at the same time. It did not come fully into its own in the West until the nineteenth century. Once it was up and running in Europe, the need to continually expand the economy and find new markets led to the formation of Eastern colonies in Indonesia, the Middle East and Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These colonies then had to be modernized according to Western norms to make them fit in with this new Western-dominated economic network. It was at this point, therefore, that the non-Western nations began the process of modernization; it became apparent to them that the only way to take a full part in the new world and to shake off European hegemony was to Westernize. But modernization took over three hundred years in the West, and it was a painful, violent and dislocating process.

A New Cold War?

Indeed, "a new specter is haunting America, one that some Americans consider more sinister than Marxism-Leninism," according to Douglas E. Streusand, "That specter is Islam."²³ The rise of political Islam in North Africa, especially the recent electoral strength of anti-liberal Islamic fundamentalist groups in Algeria; the birth of several independent Moslem republics in Central Asia whose political orientation is unclear; and the regional and international ties fostered by Islamic governments in Iran and Sudan are all producing, as Washington Post columnist Jim Hoagland put it, an "urge to identify Islam as an inherently anti-democratic force that is America's new global enemy now that the Cold War is over."²⁴ "Islamic fundamentalism is an aggressive revolutionary movement as militant and violent as the Bolshevik, Fascist, and Nazi movements of the past," according to Amos Perlmutter. It is "authoritarian, anti-democratic, anti-secular," and cannot be reconciled with the "Christian-secular universe" and its goal is the establishment of a "totalitarian Islamic state" in the Middle East, he argued, suggesting that the United States should make sure the movement is "stifled at birth."²⁵

²³ Douglas E. Streusand, "Abraham's Other Children: Is Islam an Enemy of the West?," *Policy Review* 50 (Fall 1989). See also exchange of letters titled "Is Islamic Fundamentalism a New Red Scare?," *New York Times*, January 29, 1992.

²⁴ Jim Hoagland, "Washington's Algerian Dilemma," *Washington Post*, February 6, 1992.

²⁵ Amos Perlmutter, "Wishful Thinking about Islamic Fundamentalism," *Washington Post*, January 19, 1992.

The Islam vs. West paradigm, reflected in such observations, is beginning to infect Washington. That development recalls the efforts by some of Washington's iron triangles as well as by foreign players during the months leading up to the 1990-91 Persian Gulf crisis. Their use of the media succeeded in building up Saddam Hussein as the "most dangerous man in the world"²⁶ and as one of America's first new post-Cold War bogeymen. Those efforts, including allegations that Iraq had plans to dominate the Middle East, helped to condition the American public and elites for the U.S. intervention in the gulf.²⁷ There is a major difference between the Saddam-the-bogeyman caricature and the Green Peril. Notwithstanding the Saddam-is-Hitler rhetoric, the Iraqi leader was perceived as merely a dangerous "thug" who broke the rules of the game and whom Washington could suppress by military force. Saddam's Iraq was a threat to a regional balance of power, not to the American way of life.

The alleged threat from Iran and militant Islam is different. The struggle between that force and the West is portrayed as a zero-sum game that can end only in the defeat of one of the sides. The Iranian ayatollahs and their allies — "revolutionary," "fanatic," and "suicidal" people that they are — cannot be coopted into balance-of-power arrangements by rewards and are even seen as immune to military and diplomatic threats. One can reach a tactical compro-

²⁶ Brian Duffy et al., "Saddam: The Most Dangerous Man in the World," *U.S. News & World Report*, June 4, 1990, pp. 38-51.

²⁷ See "Gulf War Coverage: A One Note Chorus," *Extra* 4, no. 3 (May 1991).

mise with them— such as the agreement with Lebanese Shi'ite groups to release the American hostages but on the strategic level the expectation is for a long, drawn-out battle.

Indeed, like the Red Menace of the Cold War era, the Green Peril is perceived as a cancer spreading around the globe, undermining the legitimacy of Western values and political systems. The cosmic importance of the confrontation would make it necessary for Washington to adopt a longterm diplomatic and military strategy; to forge new and solid alliances; to prepare the American people for a never ending struggle that will test their resolve; and to develop new containment policies, new doctrines, and a new foreign policy elite with its "wise men" and "experts."

There are dangerous signs that the process of creating a monolithic threat out of isolated events and trends in the Moslem world is already beginning. The Green Peril thesis is now being used to explain diverse and unrelated events in that region, with Tehran replacing Moscow as the center of ideological subversion and military expansionism and Islam substituting for the spiritual energy of communism.

Islam does seem to fit the bill as the ideal post-Cold War villain. "It's big; it's scary; it's anti-Western; it feeds on poverty and discontent," wrote David Ignatius, adding that Islam "spreads across vast swaths of the globe that can be colored green on the tele-

vision maps in the same way that communist countries used to be colored red."²⁸

Foreign policy experts are already using the familiar Cold War jargon to describe the coming struggle with Islam. There is talk about the need to "contain" Iranian influence around the globe, especially in Central Asia, which seemed to be the main reason for Secretary of State James A. Baker III's February stop in that region.²⁹ Strategists are beginning to draw a "red line" for the fundamentalist leaders of Sudan, as evidenced by a U.S. diplomat's statement last November warning Khartoum to refrain from "exporting" revolution and terrorism.³⁰

Washington's policymakers even applauded the January 1992 Algerian "iron fist" military coup that prevented an Islamic group from winning the elections. The notion that we have to stop the fundamentalists some where echoes the Cold War's domino theory.

"Geopolitically, Iran's targets are four--the Central Asian republics, the Maghreb or North Africa, Egypt and other neighboring Arab countries, and the Persian Gulf states," explained

²⁸ David Ignatius, "Islam in the West's Sights: The Wrong Crusade?" Outlook Section, *Washington Post*, March 8, 1992.

²⁹ Thomas L. Friedman, "U.S. to Counter Iran in Central Asia," *New York Times*, February 6, 1992; Thomas L. Friedman, "Baker's Trip to Nations Unready for Independence," February 16, 1992; and Robert S. Greenberger, "Baker Is Wooing Central Asian Republics," *Wall Street Journal*, February 14, 1992.

³⁰ The diplomat, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Robert Houdek, warned the Sudanese that they would face "grave" consequences if an international terrorist act could be traced to Sudan. See Jane Perlez, "Sudan Is Seen as Safe Base for Mideast Terror Groups," *New York Times*, January 26, 1992.

Hoover Institution senior fellow Arnold Beichman, who is raising the Moslem alarm. Beichman suggested that "the first major target" for radical Iran and its militant strategy would be "oil-rich, militarily weak Saudi Arabia, keeper of Islam's holy places and OPEC's decisionmaker on world oil prices."³¹ If the West does not meet that challenge, a Green Curtain will be drawn across the crescent of instability, and "the Middle East and the once Soviet Central Asian republics could become in a few years the cultural and political dependencies of the most expansionist militarized regime in the world today, a regime for which terrorism is a governing norm," he warned.³²

The Islamic threat argument is becoming increasingly popular with some segments of the American foreign policy establishment. They are encouraged by foreign governments who, for reasons of self-interest, want to see Washington embroiled in the coming West vs. Islam confrontation. The result is the construction of the new peril, a process that does not reflect any grand conspiracy but that nevertheless has its own logic, rules and timetables.

The creation of a peril usually starts with mysterious "sources" and unnamed officials who leak information, float trial balloons, and warn about the coming threat. Those sources reflect debates and discussions taking place within government. Their information is then augmented by colorful intelligence reports that finger exotic

³¹ Arnold Beichman, "Iran's Covetous Glances," *Washington Times*, February 28, 1992.

³² Arnold Beichman, "Iran's Covetous Glances"

and conspiratorial terrorists and military advisers. Journalists then search for the named and other villains. The media end up finding corroboration from foreign sources who form an informal coalition with the sources in the U.S. government and help the press uncover further information substantiating the threat coming from the new bad guys.

In addition, think tanks studies add momentum to the official spin. Their publication is followed by congressional hearings, policy conferences, and public press briefings. A governmental policy debate ensues, producing studies, working papers, and eventually doctrines and policies that become part of the media's spin. The new villain is now ready to be integrated into the popular culture to help to mobilize public support for a new crusade. In the case of the Green Peril, that process has been under way for several months.³³

³³ See, for example, Barbara Crossette, "U.S. Aide Calls Muslim Militants Big Concern," *New York Times*, January 1, 1992; David Ignatius, "U.S. Fears Sudan Becoming Terrorists' 'New Lebanon,'" *Washington Post*, January 31, 1992; Perlez, "Sudan Seen as Safe Base for Mideast Terror Groups"; and Robert S. Greenberger, "Islamic Fundamentalism's Rise in Sudan Sparks Concern over Movement's Spread," *Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 1992; Jennifer Parmelee, "Sudan Denies 'Khartoum-Tehran Axis' to Promote Islamic Regimes in Africa," *Washington Post*, March 12, 1992; John J. Fialka, "Former Soviet Republics of South-Central Asia Have Nuclear Arms, Links with Volatile Lands," *Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 1991; Craig Forman, "Islamic Resurgence Sweeps Soviet South," *Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 1991; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Ignoring Tehran's Threat," *Washington Post*, March 2, 1992; Elaine Sciolino, "Iraqis Could Pose a Threat Soon, CIA Chief Says," *New York Times*, January 16, 1992; and Gerald F. Seib, "The New Order: Iran Is Re-emerging as a Mideast Power as Iraqi Threat Fades," *Wall Street Journal*, March 18, 1992.

A series of leaks, signals, and trial balloons is already beginning to shape U.S. agenda and policy. Congress is about to conduct several hearings on the global threat of Islamic fundamentalism.³⁴ The George W. Bush administration has been trying to devise policies and establish new alliances to counter Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden Network influence: building up Islamic but secular and pro-Western Pakistan as a countervailing force in Central Asia, expanding U.S. commitments to Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, warning Indonesia that it faces grave consequences as a result of its policies.

Civilizational Dialogues

The international community has seen that the fundamentalists have gunned down worshippers in a mosque, have killed doctors and nurses who work in abortion clinics, have shot their presidents, and have even toppled a powerful government. It is only a small minority of fundamentalists who commit such acts of terror, but even the most peaceful and law-abiding are perplexing, because they seem so adamantly opposed to many of the most positive values of modern society. Fundamentalists have no time for democracy, pluralism, religious toleration, peacekeeping, free speech, or the separation of church and state.³⁵

³⁴ Crossette, "U.S. Aide Calls Muslim Militants Big Concern."

³⁵ Christian fundamentalists reject the discoveries of biology and physics about the origins of life and insist that the Book of Genesis is scientifically sound in every detail. At a time when many are throwing off the shackles of the past, Jewish fundamentalists observe their revealed Law more stringently than ever

History has shown to us that in the era Cold War and aftermath, it is not only Muslim and Christian who have been the fundamentalists. There are Buddhist, Hindu, and even Confucian fundamentalisms, which also cast aside many of the painfully acquired insights of liberal culture, which fight and kill in the name of religion and strive to bring the sacred into the realm of politics and national struggle. This religious resurgence has taken many observers by surprise. In the middle years of the twentieth century, it was generally taken for granted that secularism was an irreversible trend and that faith would never again play a major part in world events. It was assumed that as human beings became more rational, they either would have no further need for religion or would be content to confine it to the immediately personal and private areas of their lives. But in the late 1970s, fundamentalists began to rebel against this secularist hegemony and started to wrest religion out of its marginal position and back to center stage. In this, at least, they have enjoyed remarkable success. Religion has once again become a force that no government can safely ignore.

In Indonesia, many intellectuals and academicians have opinion that the WTC terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Bali Bombing 2002 and 2005 and so on, has encouraged the need for the significance of cultural and civilizational dialogues between Islam and the West. There is strong tendency that the cultural-civiliza-

before, and Muslim women, repudiating the freedoms of Western women, shroud themselves in veils and chadors. Muslim and Jewish fundamentalists both interpret the Arab-Israeli conflict, which began as defiantly secularist, in an exclusively religious way.

tional dialogues between the West and Islamic societies has gained growing importance after the tragedy of Black September.

In this regard, development cooperation is imperative for the West and Islamic World. It is largely equal to politics beyond cultural borders and depends upon building bridges between cultures-civilizations of the West and islamic world, and finding ways of cultural and civilizational understanding in order to enter into a dialogue about ethical, religious, and political differences and similarities with others cultures-civilizations and in response to the criticism which since then has been expressed in islamic societies about Western politics towards developing countries.

The relationship between the West and Islam has been suffering from mutual wrong perception of each other which support anti western and anti Islamic feelings and attitudes. Each others cultures are predominantly interpreted as a monolithic enemy and not, as it should be, an area of cultural deversity. For a long time, said Norbert Eschborn (a Germany Scholar), the neighbor like relationship between Western and Islamic countries has not been maintained resulting in increasing tension on religious and cultural issues, such as the discussion about the ability of Islam to adjust its value system to the modern world. On the other hand, Islamic extremist could be observed for more than a decade doing everything to pursue a course of action of politicizing culture and religion in accordance with their belief that *Islam is the solution to everything*, therefore, this long running process support the creation of an unreflected paradigm of Islam versus the West.

Given this background the approach of cultural difference must be supplemented with the perspective of cooperative coexistence. Mutual interest in and understanding of each others culture, history, and social relations are a necessary condition for the dialogue of the West with Islamic states and societies. Such a dialogue should not only underline similarities between both cultures but also identify possible areas of conflict in order to mark the positive potential of religious, cultural and political exchange between both regions which are very heterogeneous within them and, at the same time, share a common history. (Norbert Eschborn, 2004).

As tension in the relationship between Western and Islamic cultures-civilizations have been growing, any kind of dialogue, therefore, has not only to be intensified but must take into consideration the changing situation of world politics.

Indonesian Muslim and Crisis

Indonesia, as the largest *Muslim country*, therefore, after the fall of President Soeharto, can be regarded as a champion of democracy or at least democratic transition for a muslim nation, although this must still be tested by the passage of time. It is natural that the West has viewed Indonesian Islam, at least before the Bali bombing, as being Islam with a new face. In 1996, international media called Islam in Indonesia modernist, progressive, and a friend of the West and other cultures-civilizations and perceived it as an example of successful harmony between muslim and modernity.

But, to borrow Anthony Reidâ's perspective, that Indonesian Islam still remains a *grossly understudied world* appears to be true today ever more than before. So, it is very timely to the West societies for research and study on Indonesian Islam that actually is very pluralistic and complicated, so often misunderstood by the Wes-terners. Of course, issue of terrorism is a real matter, especially after Bali bombing that has schocked our state and society. Meanwhile, the radical movements in Indonesia have been rising such as Darul Islam, FPI, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Majelis Muja-hidin Indonesia, Angkatan Mujahidin Islam Nusantara, Laskar Jihad Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah, Jamaah Tarbiyah Indonesia, Ikatan Jamaah Ahlul Bait Indonesia, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, KPPSI and soon. These parti-cular movements, which have been among the most prominent and influential, have all been motivated by common fears, anxieties, and desires that seem to be a not unusual response to some of the peculiar difficulties of life in the modern secular world.

We are sure that, facing terrorism and Islam fundamentalism, no way out to solve the issues, except with cultural and civiliza-tional dialogues and economic development cooperation between the West and Indonesia. These dialogues and cooperation are very contextual and pivotal to eradicate poverty, social unjust, back-wardness, and multidimensional crises in Indonesian society, be-side to improve mutual understanding.

So far, Indonesian society has fallen into *debt trap* amounted to US\$170 billions (state and private loans). That foreign debt, mostly

the *odious debt*, has depleted economic resources of the people. Meanwhile imposition of *Washington Consensus* to Indonesia in conformity with IMF, World bank and WTO guidelines, has burdened the people economy in which most of them are the poor muslim. From this sensitive point, Islam has been *rallying point* to youth, students, ulamas and scholars as a basic ideology *vis-a-vis* the West hegemony that they blame as the new imperialists in Indonesia under global capitalism.

But, is it Islam the only solution for everything, included as problem solver for poverty, social unjust and multidimensional crisis? Is it Islam the solution to everything?.

The answer has not yet clear. In reality, Islam has only provided values, ethics, norms and religious guides, not an instant panacea to the real problems that grasped the Indonesian Islam. So it is imperative for ulamas (Islamic scholars), leaders and muslim inte-ligensia to make their *ummah* be aware and conscious that radicalism and violence is wrong answer in the wrong time to crackdown poverty, social unjust and multidimensional crises in recent years.

Islam would be useful, beneficial and meaningful if it can provide real contribution such as ideas, thinking, solution and philosophical/practical means in dealing with the real issues, so that the Indonesian Islam is more realistic and pragmatic than radicalistic and fundamentalistic in responding the nowadays and future challenges such as poverty, social injustice, global imbalances, under-development, environmental crisis, the widening gulf

between the rich and the poor, between North and South and soon. Whether or not Indonesian Islam capable and credible in dealing with these challenges, all of that depend upon their leaders, intellectuals and ulamas in responding the issues intelligently, directively, adequately and effectively. For the Muslim in every where, the struggle to overcome that matters, would take time in such globalized world.

DISCOURSIVE WAR BETWEEN FUNDAMENTAL ISLAM VERSUS LIBERAL ISLAM: A PRELIMINARY NOTE

In various discussions with activists of HMI (Islamic Students Association), IMM (Muhammadiyah Students Association) and PII (Indonesian Islamic Student), we got question, "Why are interested in reviewing the discursive polemic between Liberal Islam Network (JIL) versus fundamental Islam? What kinds of step have done by the Liberal Islam Network (JIL) versus fundamental Islam to overcome poverty, injustice, corruption and human rights violations in Indonesia? Are there contribution of the both schools of Islam to common people who cheated by ruling elites and capitalists? Aren't true that programs of both groups of Islam felt concerned about to become project of "religion business" to raise money too?

The *santri* activist's questions touch us to trace thoroughly the discursive war and push-pull between JIL and fundamental Islam, within my limited capabilities. This paper is a discourse analysis and preliminary record about liberal Islam versus fundamental Islam from various texts and debates in public and literary sources.

MUI Fatwa

The National Congress VII of Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in August 2005 issued a fatwa that forbids religious pluralism

that considers all religion are same, secularism and liberalism, and also all of their derivatives. The MUI and fundamental Islam pointed out that "rage" emerged from liberal groups over the fatwa, and it is not a final fight. At first, attacks of the Liberal Islam to MUI's fatwa have been tremendous controversy. At that time, statements of Ulil Abshor Abdalla (coordinator of the Liberal Islam Network (JIL)) that the MUI's fatwa is "ridiculous and stupid", rated among the MUI as inappropriate words. Later, Ulil apologized to the MUI. While, statements of M. Dawam Rahardjo (Muslim scholars/ICMI leaders), who said that the MUI's fatwa has divide people and causes unrest, therefore the MUI must be dissolved, this is a scathing criticism of the MUI's fatwa. The Dawam and Ulil statements caused reverse reaction from Fundamental Islam who feel be harassed. This event coincided with the MUI fatwa to ban Ahmadiyyah movement. As a result, course of events threwed Muslim-both Fundamental and Liberal-into controversies and tensions.¹

War of ideas and mutual criticism between Liberal and fundamental Islam has happened in circles of the ummah, from the Istiqlal Mosque until mosques in rural village. Battles between Liberal versus Fundamental Islam, in our opinion, should be viewed in broader context of struggle for public space, mainly political and social space, in an effort to struggle for the real "in socio-political field in Indonesia. The discursive war between

¹"Ulama Dihina, Tumpas Gerombolan Liberal", *Sabili Magazine*, No.3, Year XIII, August 25, 2005.

liberal and fundamental Islam were impressively indicates there is struggling for political opportunity structure took place openly or hidently.

In social movement studies, it is important for availability of political opportunity structures that allows or unallows social actors to move. According to Sidney Tarrow, political opportunity structure is defined as “consistent—but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national—signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements”²

The political opportunity structure is classified in two kinds, firstly a static, means related to state institution (external for actors of movements), such as opening of political system, transparency of courts. Secondly, dynamic political opportunity structure, which closely related to internal conditions in actors of movements (civil society) itself, such as weak/strong solidarity, alliance, etc. Successful social movements usually have the two forms of opportunity structure.

Therefore, we see the MUI fatwa as “power game” and effort to grab “political opportunity structure” in which the MUI seems re trying to show its “superiority, prestige and power” relatively declining in post-Soeharto era, in currents age of modernism. While,

²See Tarrow in Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). There are five structures of political opportunity, according to Tarrow: 1) increasing access, 2) shifting alignments, 3) divided elites, 4) influential allies and 5) repression and facilitation. See, Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

liberalism, secularism and pluralism has gained a place in civil society, following the democratic revolution, after the fall of Soeharto's New Order, in May, 1998. The MUI's fatwa, by pluralist and pro-democracy movement, considered marked symptoms of a new phase "Islamism" reinforcement in post-Suharto Indonesia.³

Even Ahmad Sahal, a liberal Muslim activist, argued that the MUI fatwa in its surface against liberalism, secularism and pluralism seems has narrow targeted: targeting the Liberal Islam Network (JIL), which has Ulil Abshar Abdalla as its locomotive, and other similar Islamic groups. In its fundamental layer, Sahal see the fatwa was actually hit something farther beyond the JIL, namely constitutional democracy that is being pionered in Indonesia. Democracy is threatened by the fatwa because of the three things that are forbidden by the MUI are actually major pillars of democracy.⁴

Dawam Rahardjo evaluated that basis of the MUI decision are ironic and a misunderstanding of the MUI on secularism, liberalism and pluralism (abbreviated by the Fundamental Islam as Sepilis, the term connotes harassment and peyoration of Syphilis, a dangerous venereal disease).⁵ The Liberal Islam assessed that the MUI fatwa will threat basic foundation of democratization, something aspired by the reform, so that enemies of the reform is not just authorita-

³ Conversation with pro-democracy Muslim activists, at ISAC Ciputat, August 2005.

⁴ Ahmad Sahal, "MUI dan Fatwa Antidemokrasi" *Tempo Magazine*, August 21, 2005.

⁵ Ahmad Sahal, "MUI dan Fatwa Antidemokrasi"

rianism, autocracy, corruption, collusion, and nepotism, but also by absolutist interpretation of religion, who feel they have absolute truth and considers others as heretical.⁶

As a young man who always appreciate “indigenization of Islam” and “renewal of Islamic thought” Abdurrahman Wahid and Nurcholish Madjid said, while “re-studying Islam, we want to convey that this paper does not intend to be a bridge or consideration to choose option, to defend, to refuse or to drop tendency to the both paradigms, “Liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam” or just take off the both, but try to describe the war of discourse between Fundamental Islam versus Liberal Islam, and pull-starting inside it as an intellectual and religious discourse that should be arrested and examined in our time to be more introspective, wise and mature.

We were lured to throw ourselves into the debate on Liberal Islam versus Fundamental Islam with all of its risks, set out from our “limitations of epistemology” in our struggle as activists, university student in 1980s era and is now hoping that the debate concerned actors of the both camp (Liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam) will not trigger violence and hostility, but rather open our eyes, hearts and minds to further open up our horizon in building of Islamic civilization in a sensible process and good character of dialogue, not through absolute judgements and monopolize the truth, because, in the epistemic world, the truth should be conti-

⁶ Ahmad Sahal, “MUI dan Fatwa Antidemokrasi”

nuously to look for, improper to be monopolized and it is not final? As history continues to move, interpretation should always be explored and updated? And it is not a matter of days, months and years. Interpretation and our understanding on the Quran and teachings of Islam remains need to be tested, deepened and sharpened in the context of the changing world?

In the context of globalization, there is strong tendency that Islam in Indonesia tend to be more liberal, as was observed for a long time by Greg Barton in the sense that more and more receptive to ideas of democracy, pluralism and human rights.⁷ What we must understand is that the West/USA appreciate Liberal Islam, but very afraid of Fundamental Islam, so that the West/U.S. frequently criticised the fundamentalist Islam as a culprit of violence and terrorism. In fact, state terrorism by the U.S./West, as be revealed by Noam Chomsky, has inspired the emergence of counter terrorism by Muslims against the U.S./West as in the case of WTC bombing in 11 September 2001, Spain bombing in 2004, Bali bombing in 2002, and terror of bombing in London, in July 7, 2005.

Bernard Lewis once said, in the 20th century, there is something wrong in the Islamic world. Compared with its rival, Christendom, the Islamic world is now a poor, weak, and stupid.

⁷ Greg Barton, *Islam in Indonesia, Becoming More Liberal?* paper, (Australia: CSEAS, Monash University, 1992). In his lecture at Monash's (Greg Barton completed his PhD at Monash), we got impression with Barton's prediction that Islamic communities in Indonesia tend to be more liberal in the sense that more and more receptive to idea of democracy, pluralism and human rights, as the success of Islamic reform, spearheaded Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Djohan Effendi, Dawam Rahardjo, Ahmad Wahib and so on.

Since the 19th century, the West against the Islamic world domination was evident. The west was invading Muslims in every aspects of life, not only in public aspects, but also - more painfully in the personal aspects. However, Western society is still seeing Islam as a scourge for the West.⁸

How to deal with people who live in this sort of myth or paranoid? On the one hand, the West's paranoia shows that indeed Islam - no matter what its conditions - is not being underestimated. Muslims are still being taken into account, despite being in a weakened condition. The West for centuries has been equated Islam with religious politics, fanaticism. Absolute tyranny of Islamic military practice has been equated with terror and rape, Islamic tradition is be equated with backwardness and Islam considered as a total denial to the Europe, insult to science, suppression of civil society, restriction of human thought and so on.⁹

So, Muslims should introspect to their condition and nether showing attitudes of look down, nor look face to the U.S./West.¹⁰ In this regard, the Liberal Islam assisted by the U.S./West to distri-

⁸ If we study *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (London: Phoenix, 2002), written by Bernard Lewis, there are many interesting data about conditions of Islam in the past and the present. Lewis acknowledged greatness of Islam in the past. For example, he wrote that during centuries, Islam is a largest military and economic force in the world.⁸ However, Lewis argued, in 20th century, there is something wrong with Islamic word. Compared with its rival, Kristendom (The West), Islamic word today become poor, weak, and fool.

⁹ Preface by Charles Kurzman, ed., "Islam Liberal dan Konteks Islaminya," in *Wacana Islam Liberal* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).

¹⁰ Adian Husaini, "Paradoks Kebangkitan Islam," *icmi.org*, December 20, 2004.

bute it in frame of pluralism and democracy, while the Fundamental Islam is often associated with Pan-Islamism in the Arab and assistance of Saudi Arabia/Middle East regarded as a militant and scary "force", this have to be studied simultaneously.

Starting from a Chat at the Utan Kayu

The emergence of organization of JIL (Liberal Islamic Network) begins with chats between Ulil Abshar Abdalla (Lakpesdam NU), Ahmad Sahal (*Kalam Journal*), and Gunawan Mohamad (ISAI) in Jalan Utan Kayu 68 H, East Jakarta, in February 2001. Later, it became headquarter of JIL. Then, other young thinkers, such as Lutfi Asyyaukani, Ihsan Ali Fauzi, Hamid Basyaib, and Saiful Mujani, also joined the JIL. During its development, Ulil was chosen as coordinator.¹¹

JIL initiated by many young people, with ages 20-35 years old. They are generally students, columnist, researcher, or journalist. Its ultimate goal is: to spread idea of liberal Islam as broad as possible. "For that we choose the form of network, instead of community-based organizations, and political parties," wrote the site islamlib.com, as suggests JIL ideas in the Manifesto of the Liberal Islam Network.

JIL registered 28 domestic and overseas contributors as "campaigners" of liberal Islam. They are Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Jalaluddin Rakhmat, Said Agiel Siradj, Azyumardi Azra, Masdar F. Mas'udi, and Komaruddin Hidayat. And their inter-

¹¹See, Asrori S. Karni, "Komunitas", *Gatra*, November 17, 2003.

national contributors are: Asghar Ali Engineer (India), Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im (Sudan), Mohammed Arkoun (France), and Abdallah Laroui (Morocco). The network provides the stage- like newspaper, radio, books, booklets, and websites - for the contributors to express their views in public. Its first activities are: virtual discussion (mailing lists). Since June 25, 2001, JIL fill rubrics in "Kajian Utan Kayu" in *Jawa Pos daily*, Sunday, which also published the by 40 newspapers of its group. Contents of the articles and interviews are about perspectives of liberal Islam.

Every Thursday afternoon 2001-2002, JIL broadcast live interviews and focus group discussions with its contributors, via radio 68H and 15 radios of its network. The thema of its study are within the scope of religion and democracy. For example, jihad, application of Islamic law, critical commentary, gender justice, scarf, and secular state. The perspectives presented led to argument that Islam is compa-tible with democracy.

In islamlib.com site stated, the birth of the JIL is as response to the rise of religious "extremism" and "fundamentalism" of in Indonesia. Such as the emergence of militant Islamic groups, destructions of churches, birth of a number of media for aspirations of "militant Islam", and use of the term "jihad" as and argument for violent.

JIL is not only blatantly set enemies of thinking, but also straight-forwardly expressing "crazy" ideas. Its campaign style is barking and provocative. Accumulation of this style culminated in a controversial Ulil's article in *Kompas* newspaper, FUUI accused of it

as insulting five parties at once: Allah, Prophet Muhammad, Islam, clerics, and Muslims. "My writing deliberately provocative, because I was dealing with an audiences who also provocative," said Ulil.

With this style, reactions have appearing variously. In 2002, a year that can be recorded as the most polemical of the JIL trips. Diverse spectrum: from reaction to threats of death, summons, warning, until criticism in form of books. Reproof, for example, comes from recom-mendation (taushiyah) of Regional Conference of NU Regional Board (PWNU), East Java, 11-13 October 2002.

It reads: "To PWNU of East Java instructed to immediately alert and prevent Liberal Islamic thought in NU communities. If Liberal Islam ideas raised by Executive of the NU (at all levels), it is expected to give sanctions, either cautioned or sanctioned organization (even disallowed from stewardship)."

Summons be directed by Chairman of Data and Information Department, Indonesian Council of Mujahidin, Fauzan al-Ansari, to the RCTI and the SCTV, in August 4, 2002, for showing ads entitled: "Colourful Islam" from JIL. The ads was canceled. Utan Kayu retaliated by complained Fauzan to police.

While methodological criticism is comes, one of them, from Haidar Bagir, director of Mizan, Bandung. He wrote a column in the *Republika*, March 20, 2002: "Liberal Islam Need Methodology". JIL is said to have no methodology. The term "liberal", Haidar wrote, "tend to be a basket into which anything can go". Without a clear methodology, it will reinforce impressions that Liberal Islam is

"manipulative conspiracy to undermine Islam precisely by abusing the term of Islam itself".

Reaction in the form of books, in addition to the work of Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, there are also a book by Adian Husaini, "Liberal Islam: History, Conception, Deviation and Answer for It (Jakarta, June 2002). There are three highlighted JIL agenda: the development of an inclusive, pluralist theology that considered to equate all religions and to undermine faith; the issue of rejection of Islamic law is considered as a part of global destruction to Islam; efforts to destruction of Islamic fundamentalists has been blamed as American project, based on suggestion of Israel Zionist.

Another book is written by Adnin Armas, "The influence of Christian-Orientalist to Liberal Islam" (Jakarta, August, 2003). Its content is collection of debates between Armas with JIL activists in liberal Islamic mailing list. Energy of JIL personnel is eventually sucked to serve variety reactions throughout 2002's. They are in form of penalty claim, scientific debate, to reply Fauzan complaint to police. But, it would boost popularity of the new group.

Towards the end of 2003, a frenzy of controversy about JIL tends to subside. The fate of FUUI complaints and JIL complaint against Fauzan to Police Headquarter has been evaporated. In a calm atmosphere, JIL began to lead a new more constructive phase, and no longer explosive. "The initial kicked off phase, we think is enough. Now, we are concern on developing inter-university networks," said Nong Darol Mahmada, coordinator deputy of JIL. Its mission is to stem the scriptural Islam, like Hizbut-Tahrir that per-

meated public campuses. There are 10 campuses in Java, entered the network. JIL organized a SWOT to evaluate performance and to formulate a future agenda.

In Ramadhan 2003, JIL fill the time by discussing classical books of *ushul fiqh* classic-in boarding school style, like Ar-Risala, a work of Imam Shafi'i, Al-Muwafaqat, work of Al-Syatibi, freelance writing of Najm al-Dinal-Thufi, and Jam'ul Jawami 'by Al-Subkhi. The event entitled "Gelar Tadarus Ramadhan: Return to Classical Islam" held at the Utan Kayu Theater. After the dis-cussions, the event continued with tarawih together.

Above all, actions and reactions that accompany the journey of JIL has unfold the fact that the JIL has a "constituent" of its own that get a spiritual awakening through JIL Islamic style.

For example, during a radio talk show with Prof. Hasanuddin A.F.about capital punishment in Islam, in December 2002. Henri Tan complained to reconverse from Islam, if Ulil threatened by death fatwa. "The Ulil model of Islam attracted me to Islam". If this model will be turned off, the better I came out from Islam," he said.

Similar fact arose in view of surgical books of "Islamic law in Liberal Islam Perspective", in Islamic State University of Jakarta, in June 2003. One participant, call him Djohan, deplored the death fatwa on Ulil. "I left Christianity and go into Islam precisely because of the Islamic model of Mas Ulil. He is not undermine faith, in fact strengthens my faith," said Djohan. Allegations that the JIL undermines faith, with this fact, need to be retested.

JIL held a press conference when responding FUUI fatwa, in Utan Kayu, Jakarta, December 2002, there is a responder who claims to be “minimal” Muslim, or *abangan*. He had felt alienated from majority of Muslims, but the presence of JIL has embraced and recognized him as a Muslim. He was pushed improve quality of Islam.

The “Liberal Islam” Terminology

The liberal Islam is actually a term popularized by Charles Kurzman who wrote a book, “Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook”. Actually this book is a collection of articles. Kurzman think there are a number of Muslim intellectuals who represent liberal Islam. Among Arab intellectuals, they are Ali Abd al-Raziq, Toha Mahmud, and Ahmad Na'im. The book was published in 1998.

Before the Kurzman book, there is another book that also talked about liberal Islam that is “Islamic Liberalism” written by Leonard Binder. Although not specifically talking about the Liberal Islam, Binder mapped streams of thought which he categorized as liberal. There are other books written by Albert Hourani, a classic book, “Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age”. He was referring to period of Arab revival in the early 19th century or the end of the 18th century as a liberal period. So if we see these developments, it can be seen that the term liberal Islam does not start from Kurzman. The term has been initiated by Hourani in the 1960s.

"I was quite surprised when launching of the AAA book Fyzee, a Pakistan intellectual, “Islam in Transition”. In the work,

Fyzee not just use the term "liberal Islam," but also "Protestant Islam", according to him if within Christianity there is Protestant, in Islam there is also Protestant group, which dared to protest against establishment, and presents another interpretation of the "Islamic Catholic." I personally think that the term does not really matter," said Luthfi Assyaukanie.

In view of the Liberal Islam, there is a common belief that the Quran was revealed to Muslims to stop doubts about the Prophet Muhammad's revelation that demands ... and submit these issues to public to demand that they grow, develop and open to change. Liberal Islam accepts pluralism, democracy and human rights. Pluralism is a guarantee of cultural wealth and diversity, which needed for development. We are Muslims, but Islam is not us. We do not monopolize religion. Democracy, that we understand, means pluralism, choice and freedom, as said by Abbasi Madani, a liberal Muslim intellectual of Algeria.¹²

Under the gift of freedom, Liberal Islam in Indonesia in line with Muhammad Natsir, Nurcholish Madjid and AM Fatwa (Islamic discourse as cited in Liberal, Kurzman, 2001), argued that public should be given protection in developing research activities and its contemplation. Communities should be given the freedom to think and argue. Democracy requires the community like that, simultaneously with seeking of freedom of creativity. Liberal Islam

¹² Quoted in Daniel Brumberg, "Islam, Elections and Reform in Algeria," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.2, 1991. See also, in Charles Kurzman, ed, *Wacana Islam Liberal*, p.1-26

agrees with Hassan Hanafi that there is no static and eternal theology, compatible with each time and place. Theology is always an expression of spirit and time. Liberal Islam, referring to Hassan Hanafi (1977), sees there is no single interpretation of text, but there are many interpretations that show gap of understanding among different interpreters ...The conflict of interpretation essentially is political rather than theoretical conflict. Particular theory is a cover of epistemology and every interpretation expresses political and social commitment of the commentators.

Borrowing perspective of Al Sadiq al Mahdi's (Muslim scholar from Sudan, 1983), because Islam does not specify a particular system is good for government, economics, international relations and legis-lation, Muslims are not bound by traditional approaches, but should attempt to seek build a good synthesis of Islamic and modernity. In this case, such as affirmation of Muhammad Abduh (Egypt 1849-1905), Liberal Islam refused to classic and static understanding of Islam, the Liberal Islam dare to separate ijtihad from taklid, sense from authority, to come back in an effort to acquire religious knowledge on primary sources and weighed it by scale of human thought, which has been created by God to prevent negative impact of counterfeiting in religion ... religion should be a friend to science, encourage people to explore mysteries of existence.

Regardless of various controversies, however, there is a certain segment of society that requires JIL model of Islam in caring for their spirituality. Of course, they are not only among converts and abangan, as well as academics, researchers, activists, and students

who think critically, pluralist, and uphold freedom. So, let JIL serve its constituents.

The term of Liberal Islam¹³ contains negative connotation for most of the Islamic world where it is associated with foreign domination, capitalism without borders, which extol the truth and hypocrisy of hostility to Islam. However, as confirmed by Charles Kurzman, Liberal Islam should be seen as a tool of analysis, rather than an absolute category.

What is Liberal Islam? "Liber" come from the Latin, meaning "free", "freedom". From this term we can ask some simple questions: Islam (Muslims) wants to be free from what? Is it from political confines? Is it from own doctrine, legacy and heritage? Is it from ignorance? In addition, Islam (Muslims) would be free for what to do? Just to be free to worship? Living in a democratic state and free to reinterpret existing doctrines that religion and modernity are not contradictory? What is conceptual foundation that can be given to the issues of "free from" and "free for" people who tell themselves as liberal Islam?¹⁴

¹³ See, Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Wacana Islam Liberal*.

¹⁴ This view quoted from discussion at the circle of Liberal Islam, involving Rizal Mallarangeng, Goenawan Mohamad, Denny JA, Nirwan Arsuka, Sukidi Mulyadi, Ulil Abshar Abdalla, Luthfi Assyauckanie, Ahmad Sahal, etc., 2001. The discussion of *Wacana Islam Liberal di Timur Tengah*, youth and activists of Islam attended from various circles, held in Jakarta, Wednesday, February 21, 2001. In this context, a group of Fundamental Islam published *Islamia journal* as response to Liberal Islam. *Islamia* is a quarterly magazine that its first launching was in March 6, 2004 at Hotel Sofyan Cikini, Jakarta. Its format and appearance remind to *Ulumul Qur'an* magazine, but the *Islamia* totally countering secularism, Liberalism of Islam that frequently promoted by the "former" *Ulumul Qur'an*. Although the *Ulumul Qur'an* magazine has been unpublished for long time, the

So, what is a liberal interpretation of Islam in politics (democracy)? Liberal Islam is an interpretation of Islam in favor of or parallel to civic culture (pro-pluralism, equal opportunity, moderation, trust, tolerance, and sense of national community). Luthfi Assyaukanie comprehend the "Liberal Islam" as a critical, progressive, and dynamic Islam. "Liberal Islam" is actually a term from AA Fyzee, Indian Muslim intellectual that popularized by Charles Kurzman in his *Liberal Islam*.¹⁵ The term is probably not very important, because we can replace it with, for example, "Progressive Islam," "Pluralist Islam," or "emancipatory Islam" and so on. But Farid Esack, an intellectual with South African origin, for example, does not agree with the use of the term "liberal" because it connotes to resistance and rebellion. But the Liberal Islam in Indonesia happy to use it, because there is something to be resisted, and there is no reason to rebel. They assume that majority of existing Islam is orthodox, both in facing of fundamentalist (in their political attitudes) and conservative (in their religious understanding). Therefore,¹⁶ said Luthfie, Liberal Islam came as a form of protest and resistance to domination, to solve most fundamental problems, to be free from past authority and free to interpret and criticize authority of the parties that monopolize the truth of the matter of

Fundamental Islam assumes scientific thought promoted by the magazine is thrived. "Just look at the bells and whistles, the appearance of the Liberal Islam group that spearheaded Ulil Abshar Abdalla." Said an activist of Fundamental Islam while he adding that just look at Nurcholis Madjid's followers through media as means to continually erode the true Islam under guise of reform, liberal, and so on. The group considered by Fundamental Islam as continued rampant.

¹⁵ See, Charles Kurzman (ed), *Wacana Islam Liberal*.

¹⁶ See, Charles Kurzman (ed), *Wacana Islam Liberal*.

interpretation of Islam. "When we say "free" and "for free," we are positioning ourselves to be a "Protestant", which are trying to find things that are good from religious heritage and discard bad things (I imagine the spirit of Protestantism, it is spirit which entirely positive, as best described by Max Weber," said Luthfie, one of the Liberal Islam actor.

In this case, Sukidi Mulyadi look critically at that: First, the term "liberal Islam" that considered as exclusive and lead to divisions, in fact back to remind us on daily reflection of our liberal Muslim leader, Ahmad Wahib. In this context we put liberal thought within Islam, which by Kurzman be called "liberal Islam."

Secondly, Liberal Islam is just liberal in their reading of text and discourse. But, sorry, not liberating for the oppressed. On the contrary, tends to oppress the oppressed, offer totally disconnected discourse with discourse of oppressed people. Gus Dur, in the category of Greg Barton is a first-class liberal Muslim leader, but, in a political move-ment, tends to authoritarian and not democratic at all. He has liberal democratic approach, but actualization of his political movements tends to be undemocratic. So, said Sukidi, Liberal Islam is nonsense.

Thirdly, how to put the Liberal Islam, in the context of liberative efforts, Dr.Farid Esack against the oppressive apartheid regime in SouthAfrica through reconstruction of pluralist theology in al-Qur'an to raise "inter-faith solidarity" against the oppressive regime. Well, how do we put the Liberal Islamic discourse in Indo-

nesia, for inter-faith solidarity in order to fight the oppressive regime from liberal Muslim leader.

Liberal Islam is appalling. In just two months, the book of Liberal and Fundamental Islam (*Perang Wacana, A Battle of Discourses*) written by Ulil Abshar Abdalla et al. (290 pages, Elsaq, Yogyakarta, 2003) has been reprinted for second time. The anthology book about contro-versial writing of Ulil Abshar Abdalla et al, published in *Kompas* (2002) is a compelling study of santeri, especially young Muslims.¹⁷

Ideas of the controversial writing is subject that teachings of Islam, as set forth in the Koran or the followings, are constantly have to always be interpreted according to society progression in different places and times. This necessity is not because the teachings of Islam should be matched opportunistically with situation, but because there are demands of times and uniqueness of locality is an objective necessitates as such.

So, the Liberal Islam offers: First, interpretation of Islam that non-literal, substantial, and corresponding pulse of human civilization, which is and ever changing. Second, interpretation of Islam that can separate which elements in its inside there is creation of local culture, and which are fundamental values of Islam. Third, Muslims can no longer consider themselves as "public" or "ummah", which separated from the other. Human race is bound by universal

¹⁷ Ulil Abshar Abdalla, et.al, *Islam Liberal dan Fundamental: Sebuah Pertarungan Wacana* (Yogyakarta: Elsaq, 2003). Akhmad Fauzi, "Shahih Islam Liberal," *islamlib.com*, August 15, 2003.

family of humanity itself. Humanity is in line with Islamic values rather than the opposite. In turn, human beings are equal, so that prohibition of marriage because of religious differences, even because the Qur'an does not expressly forbid it, it becomes no longer relevant and should be amended, because it is not compatible with the spirit of presence of Islam. Fourth, there is need for separation in social structure to distinguish between political power and religious area. In conclusion, Muslims should strictly distinguish between Islam and understanding of Islam.

Responding the offer of ideas of Liberal Islam, public responses have very diverse. In this case, at least there are three groups. First, those affirmatively support ideas of Ulil so their writings confirm efforts initiated by Ulil. For them, what actually initiated by Ulil is an urgent need in efforts to marry religion with social reality, so it requires contextual and grounded interpretation that unlimited to heady romance of the past.

The first group is majority of Muslim intellectuals who see ideas of the Liberal Islam from Ulil Abshar and his group as just simply examples of young intelligent people voices who get bored with present situation in which Islam can no longer arrested by the elan vital. That is, how Islamic doctrines are acceptable in realm of life that very different from the period when Islam was first revealed.

The second group is other Muslim intellectuals who give constructive criticism. In this case is represented by Mustafa Bisri, A. Haidar Bagir, and Gaus AF. The difference, Mustafa Bisri trying

to criticize the delivery method that pitched "furious" and just want to make their anger in the shadow minds of Ulil regarded as the source of inhospitality in Indonesian Islam. Because of the "spirit", clarity of mind that should serve as a guide becomes invisible. So, instead of fighting religious people who are too "excited" without sufficient understanding of their religion, who often detrimental to their religion, Ulil has the same attitude, because his spirit to fight: "enemies of Islam" has blurred clarity of mind he wants to convey. While Gaus apart from criticizing the throwing idea that he considered "old", and also the campaign targets. For him, this is not the time for society, but institutions or authorities bound public freedom in running what believed to be of their religion rather than a repeat of mandatory or not, because it is ijthadi jurisprudence. In this way, obsession of Ulil cs will more meaningful.

While Haidar Bagir questioning about methodology of thinking. Ulil writings on Liberal Islam, for Haidar Bagir, are buds of thought, while, how will then the buds have produced is less be discussed, so there are many things that need methodological explanation. Haidar exemplifies the problem hijab, beards, stoning and robes, Ulil mixing issues that support instructions of Qur'an considered valid in the way the transmission (qath'iy wurud) and almost also valid in terms of meaning (qathi al dilalah), such as the headscarf affairs and cutting off hands, with controversial-like beard textual support, shorten pants, even stoning to death (by stoning, in the Quran the issues are not be examined).

In fact, obligation to wear hijab, in sense of clothing that covers entire body except face and both hands are explicitly revealed in the Qur'an. So, if it be interpreted, otherwise, it would need a convincing argument. So, also attribute imperfections of "Islam of Medina" to the Apostles are still requires further explanation, because the apostles guided directly by God. Except for the sphere later distinguished Muhammad between him as an apostle and him as a human being.

The third group is fundamental Islam or those who from the beginning has made demarcation line with Islam Liberal. So strongly somewhat emotional and tends to reject them and then throw the judge the Ulil thought. Especially later in responding to or using a different starting point. So it was difficult to reconcile both of them. In fact both of them are opposite. For example, when commenting on Ulil statement that "No law of God" they are sporadically exposed them to the word of God "He who does not arbitrate with the law of God is among those who infidels" (Surat Almaidah: 91) and "God's law said that the stipulation among you. And Allah knows more prudent (The Holy Quran, al-Mumtahanah: 10)

Various Responses to Liberal Islam (JIL)

Liberal Islam Network (JIL) is an intellectual group or community of Islam, - which in some ways considered by fundamental Islam has a liberal and secular thinking or different with

them. Especially, with regard to Islamization of thought, that by traditional and modern Islam is also believed to be standards.

The question of secularization, Al Quran uthenticity; presence or absence of Islamic law, including matters of theology or divine, JIL dismantle beliefs that have been believed by generally Muslims with the ideas of liberal thought. ¹⁸

Adnin Armas in his book "The Influence of Christian Orientalists to Liberal Islam", 2004, from his Fundamental Islamic view, JIL considered as too out of control. JIL judged to have been influenced by Christian thought and orientalist who has long been pushing secularizations. However, idea that secularization is central to the Liberal Islamic group of Abshor Ulil Abdalla. In Armas's opinion, developed idea of the JIL has long been developed by Western orientalist and Christian missionaries who then be performed in process of secularization and liberalization of Islam. Demolition of the roots of Islam like deconstruction of the Qur'an and its interpretation are thought that has entered sensitive area in Islamic faith. And JIL do it.

Results of the conducted dialogue by Adnin Armas, against JIL activists like Hamid Basyaib, Taufiq Adnan Amal, and Lutfi As-Syaukanie, including Ulil Abshar Abdalla in a mailing list, Armas argued that future agenda of JIL Liberal Islam, theology for modern state, Islam and the necessity of secularization and understanding of

¹⁸ Sufandi Maruih, "Dialog with JIL Activists", *Terbit Daily*, January 13, 2004.

Islam kaffah, still to be debated with morality and common sense continuously.

In this regard, KH Abdurrahman Wahid (a former president) has critiqued " JIL too , pointed out that the JIL thinkers want to both to modernize and secularise Islam and this involves a process of reform. At the same time, he argued, JIL want to dealt with fundamental problems such as inequality, poverty and low education, so the JIL's objective is too much." It appears that JIL has tried to dealt with many issues , eventhough it was not its main objective, so to some extent, JIL's performance is ambiguous but ambitious. So, JIL has sparked many questions and negative response from the fundamental circles, and the moderate Muslims

According to Clane Isobel Harvey, "what Gus Dur (KH Abdurrahman Wahid) referring to is: JIL objective of creating an equitable, humane social and political structure. Gus Dur contends that by focusing so much on reforming Islam, JIL has forgotten about dealing with the fundamental problems.¹⁹ With JIL's limited capacity and credibility, it is not possible for them to dealt with many issues, while the term of "Liberal" in Indonesian society has bad connotation because it is associated with the colonialism and predatoric capitalism.

In the past, said Clane Isobel Harvey, "JIL also took part in the neoliberal economic issues, even it is not the main focus of JIL,

¹⁹ Clane Isobel Harvey, "Muslim Intellectualism in Indonesia: The Liberal Islam Network (JIL) Controversy," *RIMA (Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs)*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2009, p. 13-52.

because its primary concern is religious issues. However, a number of prominent JIL members, close in 2005 to sign a public advertisement offering their support for the removal of the fuel subsidy. Consequently a public perception that JIL is an organization underpinned by Neoliberal economic philosophy emerged. This led to a further decline in their credibility and so accusations that the intellectuals involved in JIL were so aloof from society that neglected 'real' social problems."²⁰

In subsequent development, JIL tend to be declined more rapidly, and many Muslims have viewed negatively about JIL's activities in public sphere, even though JIL is very likely not wary and aware about it.

Yudi Latif also critiqued JIL because they had been the promoter of a privatized religion and contends that this is in contradiction with its ideas on democratic pluralism. This is because, he argues, "in order to privatize religion JIL have to have single authority, such as an authoritarian state, to restrict Islam and promote a Western image of Islamic liberalism."

In this regard, Yudi Latif, a Muslim scholar, gives his assessment that JIL has faced serious challenges from the hard-line Muslims who since early opposes it because JIL's performance highly visible show of financial support from foreign countries (the West) or liberal countries under the banner of democracy and human rights. Yudi Latif has seen that "the promotion of neoliberal

²⁰Clane Isobel Harvey, "Muslim Intellectualism in Indonesia: The Liberal Islam Network (JIL) Controversy," p. 13-52.

agenda as mentioned above, particularly in a society still recovering from economic crises, clearly alienates conservative Muslims. In turn this fuels a strong counter attack on liberal Islam by conservative Islamic groups.”²¹ So, even JIL is popular among the urban society for their work in disseminating moderate Islam, for the conservative Muslims, on the contrary, JIL have been viewed and stigmatized by the fundamental Muslims as the religious Neo-liberalists that serve the Western interests.

On Islamic Shari’a

Liberal Islam activist, Lutfi Assyaukanie, believe that there is no Islamic law and there is no concept of Islamic Law as well. He argued it is just written by people who came later with over idealization toward Islam (and also same for something like Islamic state, Islamic economics, Islamic banking, etc). According to him, all laws applied in public is essentially positive law. Including the law applied by the Prophet. Even if source of the constitution came from the Qur'an, adding Lutfi, because Muhammad is a messenger. And he does not have a better constitution available at the time other than the Quran. In many cases, legislation offenses applied by Muhammad and his companions took spirit of customary law (urf), including the stoning case, the crosscut limbs, burning man (in the case of sodomy) and fines (diyat, taken from Roman and Nabatean codification). Only a few which he took from the Qur'an.

²¹ See, Clane Isobel Harvey, “Muslim Intellectualism in Indonesia: The Liberal Islam Network (JIL) Controversy.”

Why? Lutfi argues, it is because the Prophet Muhammad was interacting with people, Jews and tribal people of Medina. As long as law is a reflection of dynamics of a society, then what is practiced by the Prophet (*sunnah fi'liyyah* you call) is a mere human decision. There is not anything special that should be considered as something 'unique' or Islamic.

What's so unique? Hajj, for instance, according to Lutfi, is *jahiliyyah* heritage, zakat is revised Roman heritage, sholat (Islamic prayer) is the legacy of David that be modified, and in the economic system, the Prophet agreed to all economic practices of Romans that then dominated almost all affairs of state administration and procedures, except for Riba' (the Romans, or indeed anyone would object if usurious transaction in question is harmful to others).

Armas agree with the Luthfi Assyaukanie opinion above, but Armas said that Lutfi was too bold to conclude that there is no Islamic Sharia. "I still do not see your strong argument. Please mention reference stated that Sharia does not exist so that we can discuss it in depth reference. I saw the Prophet Muhammad is not just ordinary people like us. I would also argue that the pilgrimage can not be said jahiliyyah heritage, the revised Roman heritage charity, prayers of David the modified heritage, and economic systems of the Prophet Muhammad agreed to all Roman economic system, except Riba'," said Armas in his essay.

Armas responded Lutfi opinion and said, "if there is little in common, it does not mean absence of fundamental and basic values. Indeed the prohet Muhammad also brings the minutes was said in

previous prophets. So here, come the resemblance, but not at all deny fundamental difference. Therefore, Islam (Shahadah and the concept of Sharia) is a new religion altogether. Not a modified and adjusted clone. Here Armas recall efforts of orientalist who want to socialize idea that Jewish and Christian influence is so great that Islam can not be considered superior to other religions.

Ulil Abshar Abdalla himself optimistic that his promoted Islam is that would exist in the future. "I am increasingly optimistic that this will be a liberal Islam school forward that will soon replace the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbali, Ja'fary and others," said Ulil.

Armas responded the Ulil opinion by saying that it was too bold statement. How Ulil sure to say the things before they happen? Although not yet mature enough as a movement, repeatedly JIL has been getting very sharp criticisms and spotlight of various parties.²² Liberal, pluralist, democratic, and humanist religious views broadcast through various media (seminars, talk shows, writing, etc.) often lead to resistance from religious leaders. Not only fundamental, radical groups, but also by known moderate clerics. By them, JIL considered (allegedly) created unrest in the Muslim community, engage in activities that lead to silting of faith, insulting Islam and its doctrine and so on.²³

²²Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Quo Vadis Jaringan Islam Liberal?," *islamlib.com*, March 10, 2005.

²³ Many more books wrote to discredit JIL, for instance *Bahaya Islam Liberal* by Hartono Ahmad Jaiz; *Pengaruh Kristen-Orientalis terhadap Islam Liberal*, by Adnin Armas; and also *Islam Liberal: Sejarah, Konsepsi, Penyimpangan dan Jawabannya*, by Adian Husaini), etc. These not include many articles in mass media.

Not only clergies, who criticized JIL, activist-intellectuals are also has many sharp critics to it. The clergy has criticized JIL more because of "theological" reasons, while intellectual activists criticized the JIL rather to its platform, vision, mission, and agenda.

Masdar Farid Mas'udi, for example, criticized JIL because it is too much emphasis on discursive aspects and other Islamic "frivolous" issues (scarf, beard, veil, etc) rather than fundamental issues faced by Muslims such as unemployment, poverty, ignorance, retardation and etc. Based on this basis, Masdar form an emancipatory Islam network whose sole purpose to make dialogue between Islam and real problems facing by people. There is also intellectual activists like Bisri Effendy, Ahmad Baso and "post-Islamic network" (post-traditional) that criticized the JIL because it ignore local traditions that so abundant in Indonesia. According to them, tradition, culture and local culture is part of local wisdom that it should be placed proportionally in Islamic discourse.

Local traditions, including local Islam or other local religions, have to be defended because many Islamic groups "in the name of purification of Islam" take action to force their theological view to them. This contrasts with inclusive insight and democratic character developed by Islam.

In addition to two groups above, there are more intellectual activists (especially schools of Yogyakarta with LKiS as "major sponsor" in certain respects of Islam developed by The Wahid Institute, which is critical to JIL as deemed too "Western", mouth-piece of modernism, develop secularism insight, global capitalism and so

on. According to Islamic activists in the Wahid Institute, face of Islam that should be displayed is "Left Islam" as a critique to Western cultural hegemony that gripped in almost all areas of Islam rather than "cover" behind cloak of Western modernism. There are many other criticisms addressed to JIL.

The phenomenon at once dismissed the notion Prof. Abu Su'ud (*Suara Merdeka Newspaper*, March 04, 2005), who consider the JIL as a container of young liberal NU. Please note, perhaps only 20% of JILactivist who belongs to the NU, the rest is intellectual activists of modernist Islam that has nothing to do with NU. They joined in the "JIL syndicate" because they have same insight and passion to build glorious Islamic civilization in the future as well as erode misleading religious fundamentalism.

In addition, the NU intellectual activists though sighted "liberal"-not necessarily they are members of the JIL syndicate, because they have their own containers as emancipatory Islam Network (JIE), Post-Traditionalism, Left Islam and others. On several occasions, young people are arguing fiercely about NU agenda of Islamic movements and Islamic patterns consistent with spirit of the times and not infrequently there are very sharp differences among them.

Response of Fundamental Islam toward Liberal Islam

Furthermore, the Fundamental Islam see, *firqah halikah* is *firqah Liberaliyah*. *Liberaliyah* is a growing understanding in the West and

has assumptions, theories and views of life, which came out or deviate from it so it includes the *halikah firqah* (the perish groups).²⁴

In his book, entitled "Western Political Thought (2000)," Ahmad Suhelmi, PhD explain principles of the thinking. First, principle of individual freedom. Second, principle of social contract. Third, principle of free market society. Fourth, believe on plurality existence of Socio-Cultural and Political Society.

According to the fundamental Islam activists, Islam and Liberal are the two antagonistic terms, face to face may not be met. However, there are a bunch of people in Indonesia who are willing to call themselves as Liberal Islam Network (JIL). The name is "fit" with its people or ideas and agenda. Islam is recognition that what they are calling for is haqq but essentially their voices are falsehood, because liberal is incompatible with Islam, what revealed and delivered by the Prophet Muhammad, but they are calling for is an innovation offered by those who - disbelieve in the Prophet Muhammad.²⁵

Fundamental Islam addressing Liberal Islam through their gaze upon vision, mission and dangers of JIL agenda, as follows:

Origins of The *Firqah* Liberal

Liberal Islam, according to Charles Kurzman appear around 18th century when the Ottoman Dynasty, Mughal Dynasty, Shafawi

²⁴ Agus Hasan Bashori, "Bahaya Islam Liberal," *Risalah Magazine*, April 22, 2004.

²⁵ Articulation of the fundamental activists easily heard and found in radio and print media.

Dynasty in the gate of collapse. At those days, clergies hold puritanism movement, return to the Qur'an and Sunnah. At this time came the liberal early embryo through the Shah Wali Allah (India, 1703-1762), according to him, Islam have to follow local customs of any place in accordance with requirements of its people. This also happened among Shiites. There is Bihbihani Muhammad (Iranian, 1790) began to dare to break door of ijtihad and flung it open.

This idea is rolling. Rifa'ah Rafi 'al-Tahtawi (Egyptian, 1801-1873) including European elements in Islamic education. Shihabuddin Marjani (Russian, 1818-1889) and Ahmad Makhdun (Bukhara, 1827-1897) included secular subjects into the curriculum of Islamic education.²⁶

In India appears Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-18%) who persuaded Muslims to adopt policies of cooperation with the British colonialist. In 1877 he opened a college which later became Aligarh University (1920). While, Amir Ali (1879-1928) through the book of "The Spirit of Islam" try to realize entire liberal values that worshiped in the UK, at the time of Queen Victoria. Amir Ali argued that the Prophet Muhammad is the great pioneer of rationalism (William Montgomery Waft: 132).

In Egypt, was emerged M. Abduh (1849-1905) who adopted thinkings of many Mu'tazilite, tried to interpret Islam in a free way from influences of Salaf. Then came Qasim Amin (1865-1908), European accomplice and a pioneer of women's emancipation, author of

²⁶ Charles Kurzman (ed), *Wacana Islam Liberal*, p. xx-xxiii

the book "Tahrir Al-Mar'ah". Then came Ali Abd. Raziq (1888-1966). So, who broke the caliphate system, he said Islam does not have a political dimension because Muhammad was religious leader. Then forwarded by Muhammad Khalafullah (1926-1997) who said that desire of the Koran imply there is no other democratic system. (Charles: xxi, 18). In Al-Jazair appear Muhammad Arkoun (born 1928) who settled in France, he initiated commentary of al-quran new model based on various disciplines in the West as a field of semiotics (the science of phenomena of symbols), anthropology, philosophy and linguistics. He wanted to examine essences of Islam based on modern Western sciences. And he wanted to unite diversity of Islamic thought with diversity of thought outside of Islam.²⁷

In Pakistan, emerged Fazlur Rahman (born 1919) who lived in America and become professor in the University of Chicago. He promotes contextual interpretation, a single best and fair interpretation model according to him. He tells that al-Qur'an contains two aspects: specific legal and moral ideal, gone to by al-Qur'an is its moral ideals, so they are which more proper to be applied. In Indonesia emerges Nurcholis Madjid (Fazlur Rahman's student in Chicago) pioneering movement of *firqah liberal* together with Djohan Efendi, Ahmad Wahid and Abdurrahman Wahid.²⁸

Nurcholish Madjid has initiated idea of reform since 1970's. At that time, Cak Nur voiced religious pluralism by stating: "Religious

²⁷ Mu'adz, Muhammad Arkoun, "Anggitan tentang cara-cara tafsir al-Qur'an," *Salam Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2000, p. 100-111.

²⁸ Adian Husaini, "Islam Liberal dan Misinya," *Sabili Magazine*, No. 15, 2001.

tolerance will only grow on the basis of relativism understanding of formal religion forms and shared recognition of universal value absoluteness, which leads to every human being, is at the core of every religion", and now comes what called as JIL (Liberal Islam Network) carrying ideas of Nurcholish Madjid and other thinkers agreed with him.

That is sanad (origin) of Liberal Islam according to Hamilton Gibb, William Montgomery Watt, Charless Kurzman and etc. In this context, it should be noted that not all of them cornered Islam by saying it is a religion remains unchanged, or doubt the Qur'an as words of God. Montgomery Watt, for example, argued that the Koran is the truth. So rather than follow the views of conservative Christians who think that the Koran is a replication of the earlier holy books, Watt would build his school by saying that the Koran is true from God, and it represents its own originality. To prove his view, Watt showed evidence that the Makiyyah verses, there is always following points: 1) that God is Almighty and Merciful; 2) that people will face God in hereafter to get justice for his actions; 3) man have to submit to God and worship Him; 4) human beings have to be willing to spend the charity (zakat) and running truth, and 5) Muhammad had been sent by God. Those are strictly correct, Watt said, that the above four points have also been mentioned in the Bible, but the last point stating that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, show that the Koran has originality apart from

revelation contained in the Jewish and Christian religions.²⁹ No less than Hans Kung who also claimed that the Qur'an providing Muslims with ideas of moral obligation, external and depth of religious dynamics. The fact is the case, because Muslims believe the Koran as a holy book, and more than that they understand it not as men's words, but God's holy words.

Mission of *Firqah* Liberal

In perceptions of militant Islams, Liberal *firqah* mission is to block the (exactly: to destroy) Fundamental Islam movements (www.islamlib.com). They wrote: "of course, if no efforts to prevent dominance of militant religious views, perhaps in a longtime, the views could become dominant. If this true, it would have bad consequences for efforts to establish democracy in Indonesia. Because, militant religious views frequently leads to tensions among existing religious groups. Call it between Islam and Christianity. Inclusive, plural, and humanist religious views is one of basic values that underlie democratic life."

What Fundamental Islam meant as the opposite of *firqah* liberal is a person who has five characteristics³⁰, as follows:

1. They who driven by a deep hatred toward the West,
2. They who determined to restore Islamic civilization of the past through revive the past;
3. They who aim to implement Islamic law;

²⁹ Pradana Boy ZTF, *Orientalisme dan Dialog Antar-Kitab* (Canberra: ANU, 2004).

³⁰ See, Agus Hasan Bashori, "Bahaya Islam Liberal."

4. They who propagate that Islam is both religion and state,
5. They make the past as a guide (manual) for the future

Agenda and Ideas of *Firqah Liberal*

Fundamentalist Islamic circles see the article entitled "The Four Liberating Islamic Agenda"; Luthfie Asyaukanie one of JIL founder and also researcher in Freedom Institute ³¹ introduced four agenda of Liberal Islam.

First, political agenda, according to him state's affairs are purely world affairs, both royal and parliamentary systems (democracy) is the same.

Second, lifting religious life, he said there is need to search for pluralism theology given social life in Islamic countries become more plural.

Third, the emancipation of women and *Fourth*, freedom of expression (absolutely).

³¹However, according to the fundamental Islamists, the subject matter they are actually older than that. They understand the rationalist in religion back to the professor of error is the devil *Ia'natullah 'alaih*. (Ali Ibn Abi Al-'Izz: 395) because it can be spoofed by JIL "Road Devil curse". Being aware secularists in society and the state ended its sanad the European community to break the figures of the church that gave birth to the motto of Render Unto The Caesar what The Caesar's and to the God what the God's (Hand over what is rightfully Caesar to Caesar and what is rightfully God to God). Therefore, in any fundamental Islamists who declared: "Cak Nur approach borrows Christian Western civilization which gave birth to the birth of" The understanding of Islam promoted liberal pluralism, its sanad continued to Ibn Arabi (468-543 AH) who recommend faith idealizing Pharaoh and the Prophet Musa.

While from other sources we get four of their following agenda:

- (1) Importance of ijtihad contextualization
- (2) Commitment to rationality and updates
- (3) Acceptance of social pluralism and religious pluralism
- (4) Separation of religion from political parties and non-sectarian position of state

Fundamental group assess that, views of Liberal Islam make Islam be same with other religions. Perceptions of Fundamental Islam activists assert that it is against Islam, they said that it is desired of Jews and Christians. Jews and Christians are always echoes of this particular heresy among academics and among Muslims. Hence fundamental group articulates what they call the dangers of *Liberal firqah*:

1. They do not speak of Islam pleased by Allah, but voicing thoughts pleased by devil, the West and other Evils.
2. They prefer evil attributes rather than titles of the faith because they hate the words like jihad, the Sunnah, the Salaf and so on, and they are willing to call their Islam with Liberal Islam. Allah said: "*As the worst call is the bad (call) after faith*". (al-Hujurat: 11)
3. They believe in some of contents of the Qur'an and doubt then reject the others, to be looked polite and scientific in their refusal, so they created a "new path" in interpretation of the al-Qur'an. They call it a contextual interpretation, hermeneutics Tafseer, Commentary Critical Tafseer and Liberal Tafseer.

For example, Musthofa Mahmud in his book "*al-Tafsir al-Ashri li al-Qur'an*" interpreting the verse of --*Faqtho'u aidiya-humaa*-- with "the severing attempt to steal them by giving compensation and its needs." (Sheikh Salman Hasan Mansyhur, in Surabaya, Monday, 4 Muharram 1423).

And this interpretation is also followed in Indonesia. It is proper then why the prophet said: "*What I worry about are eloquent hypocrites. They denied by the Koran.*"

People like this are who that ruins religion. They claim to be a reformer of Islam, although actually they are destroyers of Islam, they are inviting to the Al-Qur'an when they dumped the Qur'an. Why is that? Because they are ignoring the Sunnah.

4. They reject paradigm of sciences and conditions that exist in the Islamic ijthihad, because they feel inferior to deal with western culture, they see Islam with heart and brains of the West.
5. They do not follow the road taken by the Prophet, his Companions and all those who believe. For those who only rely on understanding provisions of normative religious texts as well as in other forms of Islamic History at initial formalism is inadequate and this religion will be an ahistorical religion and exclusive.³² They forget that attitudes like that warned by Allah:

"And those who oppose the messenger after obvious truth to him, and follow the path that is not the way of believers, We let him freely to

³² Syamsul Arifin, "Menakar Otentitas Islam Liberal," *Jawa Pos Newspaper*, February 1, 2002.

the errors that has mastered them and we put them into Jahannam, and Jahannam is the worst place to back." (Holy Quran, an-Nisa: 115).

6. They do not have clerics and scholars do not believe to their knowledge. They prefer to believe their own desires, because they claim as a "reformer" and even "super reformer", they are neo-modernist. Allah said:

"And if said to them, "Do not make mischief on the earth," they replied, "We the people who make amends, "Surely, they are ones who make mischief, but they are not aware of it. When said to them, "Believe ye as others believe," they replied, "Will we believe as the fools believe it." Remember, they're real stupid people, but they do not know. (Holy Quran, al-Baqarah [2]: 11-13).

7. The similarity of their ideals with ideals of America makes Turkey as an ideal model for all Islamic countries. Prof. Dr. John L. Esposito stressed that America would not willing before all Muslim countries appear like Turkey.
8. They divide the Muslims because their ideas are heresy and every heresy certainly divisive.
9. They have an educational base that gave birth many liberal thinkers, have sufficient media and international networks and funds.
10. They have no clear religious way (manhaj) so their ideas impressed "just any" and promiscuously. Just look at the book Charles Kurzman, a salafi (revivalist), Rashid Rida even then they classify into the liberal group, as did Muhammad Nasir (Masyumi figure) and Yusuf Qardawi (figure of Ihwan al-Muslim). The danger is they can not be silent, but their silent is

gold, indeed it is so heavy to hold oral jihad. They will not be able to do so unless a believer.

"Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day (Armageddon), so let him speak well or let him be quiet." (Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).

Vanity people, in addition to gathering strength to hostile the Ahlul-haq, Allah ta'ala said:

"As for those who disbelieve, some of them protect others mutually. If ye (O ye Muslims) do not carry out what God has commanded, there will be turmoil in the land and great corruption" (The Holy Quran, al-Anfal: 73).

Meanwhile, Hartono Ahmad Jaiz called them as dangerous because they are "simple" do not have a strong foundation of science and do not have an established faith.³³

Facing the above complexity, the Fundamental Islam remains firmly rejected ideas of liberal Islam, including questions of pluralism. In their perception, this pluralism is something contrary to Islamic ideology is not just mentioned in the Al-Qur'an Al-Baqarah verse 120 and others.³⁴ Pluralism, according to Fundamental Islam, is core theology that could be divided into three parts:

- There is an exclusive theology, viewing that only their religion is right, other religions are wrong, there is no other truth and salvation.

³³ As comparison, see, Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, *Ada Pemurtadan di IAIN*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Kautsar, 2005).

³⁴ See, Agus Hasan Bashori, "Bahaya Islam Liberal."

- Then rose again an inclusive theology, namely of those who think that their religion is right and other religions are right as well, there is other truth but his religion is more true that he still follows his religion. This is inclusive and more open-minded
- Then, the highest pluralist theology, look at that truth every where benardan religion to another religion is true and he participated actively involved in religious activities of others as well. That's really a true pluralist.

Fundamental circles accused the liberal group made special ranks to liberalize their mission, and spread their respective ideologies, while the Zionists spread its Zionism. Not attract people to the Zionists, but how people become submissive to the Zionist.³⁵

In the issue of terrorism that today a lot of cornering the image of Islam peyoratively, the JIL has a parallel view with the U.S./West in view of Fundamental Islam as often associated with terrorism. "Anarchism" actions with the Islamic movement has specific characteristics, as written by former U.S. President, Richard Nixon in "Seize The Moment", quoted by Muhammad Imarah in "Fundamentalism in the West and Islamic Thought Perspective" (1999: 35), that "fundamental Islam" are those who has following movement characteristics: 1) Anti-Western civilization, 2) willing to apply Islamic law, 3) willing to build the Islamic civilization, 4) no separation between Islam and the state, and 5) Making the predecessors (*salaf*) as a guide to the future (*Khalaf*). The fifth characteristic

³⁵ See, Agus Hasan Bashori, "Bahaya Islam Liberal."

is used as a yardstick to assess whether the Islamic movement deserves to be called as "fundamentalists" or not.

Criticism of the Islamic Liberation with Rhythmic of Death Threats

"At the end of time, would appear a group of young people with stupid mind. They said using words of God, when they had come out of Islam, like release of an arrow from its bow. Their faith does not pass through their throat. Wherever you find them, kill them. People who kill them will be rewarded on the Day of Resurrection."³⁶

The motto is not just any string of words. But a translation of the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, which stored in the book "*Al-Jami 'al-Sahih*", compiled by Imam Bukhari. Majority of Muslims judge that Hadiths selected by Bukhari has very high level of validity. Thus, the command to kill in the Hadith can be understood as a religious obligation *syar'i* that has worth of worship.

The book was published in January 2002, concurrent with the rise of news about the community of young people who called themselves as Liberal Islam Network (JIL). Placement of narratives of Ali ibn Abi Talib was motto of the book inviting the question:

³⁶ Provocative quote as a motto emblazoned on the top of a little book whose title suggests a stern warning: Danger of Islam Liberal. 100-page paperback book was written Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, 50, a former journalist. Although small, the book could have a major impact because it contains the message "the removal of life" of the Liberal Islam activists. This sort of thing very terrible, should not have to happen if there is maturity and wisdom of Islamic activists in addressing the fundamentals of Islam Liberal.

does the liberal Islam, therefore, qualify as a group meant by the contents of the Hadith, so they have to be killed?

The authors did not answer yes or no. "It has to be decided through legal mechanisms," said Hartono. The Hadith, said the alumnus IAIN Yogyakarta, is general. Therefore, Hartono realized that its application could lead to libel and disputes. So it needs involvement of law enforcements to quell the dispute. In accordance with rules of fiqh: *hukm al-hakim yarfa'u al-khilaf* (ruling authorities work round out of the polemic).

At the end of the book, Hartono called Liberal Islam for justice in court for which he assessed as "far from the truth". However, implicitly, he still recommends sanction of killing, when he closes the book by presenting the story of Umar bin al-Khattab who killed people refused to arbitrate with the Islamic Shari'a. Hartono argued that among sins of JIL are also rejected the Islamic Shari'a.

Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, in his book, *Fathul Bari* - an elaboration (Sharh) of *Saheeh Bukhari* -explains, a Hadith informed that Ali when they wanted to crush rebellion of Kharijites (Haruriyah). That is Muslim with very literal understanding of the Qur'an and judge Ali as infidel.

Khawarij known easily to judge infidel to fellow Muslims, and do not hesitate to kill their Muslim who judged as infidels. This type of community is meant by the Hadith at the time. In early 2002, Hartono wrote the Hadith for a book about liberal community, not the literal kind of Khawarij.

Thus, news of the death fatwa uproaring JIL ever happened in late 2002, which has got "academic" introduction from the Hartono's book, 11 months earlier. While in early 2002 Hartono stated discourse of killing execution for liberal Islam, towards the end of the year, the throw crystallized in the form of "death *fatwa*".

A number of religionists, who are members of Forum of Ulama of Indonesian Ummat (FUUI), on 30 November 2002, gathered at Al-Fajr Mosque, Bandung, issued a statement containing the fatwa. FUUI statement reads, "Call for law enforcement officials to dismantle the networks and activities that systematically and massively contempt of God, Allah, Muslims, and clergy."

They ignited by an Ulil Abshar Abdalla's provocative article, in Kompas, 18 November 2002, titled "Refreshing Understanding of Islam", which referred as an example of contempt of religion. FUUI stated, "According to Islamic law, persons who insult and distort the truth of religion can be punishable by death."

According to Chairman of FUUI, KH Athian Ali, his fatwa is not just for Ulil. "Too small if we only highlight Ulil. We want to dismantle motives behind the Liberal Islam Network, which he led," said Athian. Throughout 2002, therefore, become year of calling for death of the JIL.

The fatwa sparked widespread controversy. FUUI attitude attracted plenty of critics. Core of the criticism: opinions may differ, but do not spread death. It is enough to give a bitter lesson of history: from the al-Hallaj (Baghdad), Siti Jenar (Demak), Hamzah

Fansuri (Aceh), Faudah Farag (Egypt), until Mahmoud Taha (Sudan) who lost their lives due to different opinions.

FUUI finally clarified: they did not issue a "death fatwa". "We are only demanding legal process," said Athian. He proved his words by complained Ulil to the Police Headquarter, a week later. FUUI did not mention the word "death fatwa", but Athian stated, the legal basis of his attitude to the JIL is same with the Reverend Suradi's attitude. On February 2001, FUUI openly use the word "death *fatwa*" to Suradi.

What kind of community the JIL exactly? Why there are other groups that called for his death? Is same "Liberal Islamic danger" to the jargon of "the danger of drugs" or "latent danger of communism," whose its actors are also often sentenced by death infliction? GATRA had twice finished discussing this community: Special Reports of "Liberal Islam Prevent Fundamentalism" (December 8, 2001) and the Main Report "Dead Fatwa for Liberal Islam" (December 21, 2002). Contention and threat to the JIL seems excessive.

Response of Liberal Islam to Fundamental Islam

In a discussion on the Liberal Islam in Utan Kayu, culturalist, Goenawan Mohamad said every religion began with liberating spirit. At first, it relativized laws, but when it becomes organization then it become conservative, so it raised the Inquisitions. But there is also another element, perhaps anxiety. "I think among the masses of Islam, in many countries, anxiety was so strong, so it may need a

strong grip. Also fearness of the Inquisition in Spain, when Christian had just defeated the Muslims," said Goenawan.³⁷

He added, might be interesting, as it now arises, how Islam is growing among European Muslims whose their lives are good, and see that the secular state could save them. Do not forget that guaranteed freedom of thought is in Europe. So, mostly Muslim, from Middle East went to Europe as well. "Now, I hear there is grow up the interpretation of Islam in Europe itself. This is because many Muslims in Europe. I heard the second largest Muslim people in France. Even in the Netherlands there is an Islamic intellectual of Turkish descent who is member of the Christian Democratic Party," he said as asked: "Is it because of sociological differences will facilitate or complicate the Liberal Islam in the future?" The answer to it is not easy.

Responding to the offer, there are extremely diverse public responses and the stronghold of Fundamental Islam, as we describe above, gave answers and responses to the views of the Liberal Islam. And below the turn of the Liberal Islam's answers further in criticizing the responses of Fundamental Islam. Insha Allah, from the debate and discursive struggle between Liberal and Fundamental Islam, there will be enrichment and expansion of intellectual horizons for civil society in Indonesia.

³⁷ "Discourses of Liberal Islam in the Middle East," *islamlib.com*, February 21, 2001.

Religion and Religious Interpretation

When processes of institutionalization of religious experience are excessive, so there is happened silencing of wealth of scripture interpretation. Outside official interpretations recognized by competent authorities, it is impossible there are other interpretations that their truth be recognized as well. Scriptures that have originally open to all interpretations, their voice be silenced to only "read one interpretation" (monophonic exegesis). Religious communities that are beyond the "official" interpretations will be branded as apostate or heretical acts. If is so, it gives birth to caricatures of history of the Inquisition in the Al-Ma'mun era (for the case of Islam) or at the Reformation (in the case of Christianity). In fact, ironically, the caricatures we can still see today in Indonesia, for example - to mention the most recent example- "hot" polemic about Islamic reform launched by Nurcholish Madjid.

Altogether shows that when religion has become an institution monopolized by certain authorities, then it will lose its characters as a religion of "liberator", but on the contrary, it will be as a judge handed verdict to people who do heretical interpretations.

But, oddly enough, this phenomenon of institutionalizing religion is occurred in all religions in the world. If during the time we saw wars, or at least inter-religious hot conflict, then in fact, who worked there, for the most part, are interests of religious "agency" maintaining their own interests respectively, instead of people of conscience who often able to read "truth" better as something "beyond the religion as institution"; something beyond mere reli-

gion as an institution; it is religion as a representation of the truth that inserted in "earth's cleanest conscience" of human being from their birth, to bring the truth as it has ever been demonstrated by the religions (in Islam, for example, there is a hadith: *istafti qalbaka* - inquire at your heart).

Challenges of all religious communities now are be lied in the fact that all religions have been "wiped out" by storm of the institutionalization process that shut down liberating prophetic message. How can religious people today facing rapid changes in the cosmic level, to re-interpretation the texts of each religion? It became necessary, if religions do not want to be abandoned by his people or buried by the fast-moving current history.

Methods of Deconstruction

In sciences of humanity today, the method of "deconstruction" introduced by Jacques Derrida, a philosopher, one of a leading contemporary post-structuralist, -has been popular as a reference. This method provides significant contribution, especially in the field of literary criticism. This method, then, is borrowed by various disciplines of humanities. Even a Muslim thinker, Algerian-born-avant-gardis that, now, living in France, Mohamad Arkoun, have used this method to reconstruct classical scientific tradition of Islam.

If the method of deconstruction applied to religious texts and ideologies, the first that have to be done is to "separate" between text-monolinier relationship and the "meaning" - [read: its interpretation]. Belief of there is "final" between particular texts and

interpretations have to be dismantled. Therefore, such a conviction will cause many negative effects. First, bigotry against particular interpretations, and rejected the possibility of other interpretation validity. Second, it will close possibility of opening to various text interpretations. With closing of diversity of interpretations, then a text will decay. Third, a text that has been silenced by inauguration of one interpretation only, will cause the texts are no longer meaningful in the face of fast social changes in modern times. The deconstruction of the texts, then open up possibility of diversity of text interpretations. Therefore, linear relationship between the texts and final interpretation has been broken.

The Deconstruction of the texts also brings other consequences that are more sociological, namely deconstructing of monopoly on interpretations by certain authorities who speak of "single truth" in the name of God, state or ruler. Therefore, assuming there are certain authorities, it also means presupposes existence of "The I-Transcendent" who more knowledgeable than other parties, about meanings and interpretations of the texts. When "The I-Transcendent", who in sociological manifestations can be anything such as clerics, rulers, priests, monks, rabbis, bishops, and so on, they have been "killed", then it opens possibilities for diversity in an interpretation . Interpretations into something become relatively "democratic", in the sense of possibility that the truths do not become monopoly of particular interpretations.

The diversity itself is basis of the fact that the "truth" anyway is also not a single thing. Understanding about a single truth,

actually related to assumptions that there is "The I-Transcendent" who knows everything about the texts, so that produced interpretations, which have "sole authority" over the truth. So, when "The I-Transcendent" is deconstructed through concept of, -to borrow a phrase introduced by Mohamad Arkoun, - "historicity logos" and, thus, also means "historicity of religious interpretation", so the sole authorities losted their "carrying capacity". There comes an alternative of "interpretation plurality". In the context of pluralism that is the undermined hegemony of interpretation, and the texts become "alive" again and open to all interpretations. With collapse of the "hegemony", there is collapse "text feudalism" as well in the religion that marked the beginning of thought rigidity over the years.³⁸

Concerns over the Battle of Discourse between Fundamental Islam and Liberal Islam

Ulil Abshar Abdalla paper "Refreshing Our Understanding of Islam", which was published by *Kompas newspaper* (November 18, 2002) and then recorded in book entitled: "Liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam: A Discursive Battle" written by Ulil Abshar Abdalla et al. (290 pages, Elsaq, London, 2003), it is interesting for debate, though it may raise religious militancy. The emergence of false accusations, infidels, even permitted their blood is an example of how has the debate is unhealthy in constructing of religious

³⁸ Ulil Abshar Abdalla dan Herdi Sahrasad, "Meruntuhkan Hegemoni Tafsir, Menghidupkan Kembali Teks," *Ulumul Quran*, No. 3. Vol.5. 1994, p. 94-95

thought.³⁹ Such a situation, if not addressed carefully, will only trapped and dragged us to attitudes of blind fanaticism, which then led to primordialism in the name of religion. Therefore, it should be emphasized 'barometer' that can be used as basis and size of actions.

In the battle of discourses as a response to Liberal Islam, then Fundamental Islam activists also argued about their fundamental ideas and thoughts. At least, there is a kind of anxiety that accompanied suspicion of the both (fundamental Islam and liberal Islam) about future of Islam in Indonesia.

First, the fundamental Islam worry if the graet teachings of Islam are eventually have to be uprooted through campaigns of liberal Islam to form a community without texts.

Second, while liberal Islam is also worried that if the teachings of Islam were only interpreted textually/scripturally, world problems became increasingly complex, so they requiring contextual interpretation of religious teachings. There are many issues in *letterlijk* way are not be discussed in religious texts, and that means demanding the believers to interpret contextually, adapted with the times.

Different points of view and principle are very meaningful because of the emergence of the direct debate, if be studied deeply, not actually intended to build and establish a positive paradigm for creation of polite and civilized society, but rather as' a struggle for authority of 'religious discourse. Namely, strugling for position of

³⁹ Muhtadin AR, "Islam Jalan Damai," *Media Indonesia Newspaper*, January 17, 2003.

religious interpretation of the 'sacred' that not everyone allowed to touch them. Interpretation on religious doctrine should only be done by those who have a certain criteria, not by all people of faith.⁴⁰

This is the view of Muhtadin AR, quoted Ritzer thought in "A Multiple Paradigm Science" (1975), about interesting 'discourse' to put forward. According to him, discourses in social theory, are highly political. They are no longer a matter of right or wrong, but they have been transformed into a matter of winning or losing. Triumph of a theory to other theories, he argued, is due to proponents of the theory which have won it more strength and power of the defeated followers of the theory, and once again, not because the theory is more correct or better than the defeated.⁴¹

If we stand on Ritzer expression above, it is natural that the debate over religious thought could end up on police table and power.⁴²

Facing this unharmonious situation, sociological study of society will actually find its relevance. First, authority of religious understanding is still monopolized by men and certain groups. Every religion has not been fully granted by rights to choice in deciding over their authority of religious understanding. As a result, each group of authorities gives definition towards their

⁴⁰ Muhtadin AR, "Islam Jalan Damai."

⁴¹ Muhtadin AR, "Islam Jalan Damai."

⁴² Muhtadin AR, "Islam Jalan Damai."

opponent, tailored to interests of the group, and many of their tone are 'provocative'.

Labeling of opponent specified by Fundamental Islam and Liberal Islam, for instance, very clearly shows antagonism. Fundamental Islam defines their 'opponent' as should be excluded, who are people and groups who do not want to hold on religious texts, and they are Liberal Islam. While the Liberal Islam defines that person or group should be excluded are those who really hold fast to the texts, without doing a reinterpretation of context going on around them, and they are Fundamental Islam.

Second, until recently, a study of religious understanding is still putting people as 'objects' rather than 'subjects'. Religious authorities of religious understanding not yet become rights of every people of faiths, but they still belong to 'rulers' of religion. Communities that are also actually believers have not been fully given freedom to make choices on authorities of their own religious understanding.

It thus can be seen from emergence of unhealthy counter discourse from each person and group, which ideologically and methodologically has very different religious understanding. Respective religious authorities have not fully 'willing' if other groups threw discourses that according to the groups are considered wrong and dangerous.

There is an impression that "conflict" of thinking paradigm is not addressed wisely, so if it be allowed to grow continuously, it will not solve the problem, and even tended to exacerbate the

problem, because the two opposing groups (Liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam) will always confronting forever. And in front of the both parties, there is a blank area that can cause various possibilities in which is highly possible each of them will bring new tactics to confront their opponent arguments, and so on.

Muslim activists see this fact as a strong warning that demand Muslim who cares to be wise, vigilant, patient and careful. Because if not, their future will not just be treated to views of emergence of a fragmented society in religious movement and understanding, a polarized society in very narrow religious septum and does not liberated, and also emergence of society with intolerant paradigm of thinking, who can not accept differences.

Thus, at the level, it has to bring together the fundamental Islam and the liberal Islam.⁴³ Meet not only to dialogue ideas, but also offer the ideas to the public in a healthy manner without any pretense to other groups. That is, to what extent ideas have concern and partiality towards problems of society? With the position like that, people no longer will be object of religious understanding, but changed the subject to options that they will determine, including when they do not make any choice. The trend to where public will require concepts and ideas offered by both of them, they can be seen from public response, sympathy, and need.

⁴³ Muhtadin AR, "Islam Jalan Damai."

Is There Middle Way?

Analysts of Islam see the issue of Liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam 'discourses' ultimately is a political, which no longer speaks about right or wrong, but was shifted to issues of win and lost. And, this is our biggest challenge. Therefore, "malignancy" of Fundamental Islam who wants to hit those who do not want to go back to textual meaning of religion, have to be tamed. And also Liberal Islam that has a very high spirit to knock down textual religious buildings, have to be controlled. In Muslim activist's perceptions, the war of discourses between Liberal and Fundamental Islam should not be dragged too deep aspects of emotional and group interests, but rather a dynamic dialogue of thought and common sense.

Because, as the perception of Muhtadin, a Muslim activist, is'nt Islam as rahmatan lil 'alamin religion has to accommodate all existing ideas, and not only among Muslim, but also with non-Muslims. Islam as a religion of *solihun likulli zamanin wa makanin* (suitable for all times and places), not only requires religious text, but also highly contextual meaning? And, that's actually Islam as a way to achieve peace, not violence that revenge to destroy each other.

Religion for Human Being⁴⁴

Every religion contains two important elements: the term used by Prof. Dr. Amin Abdullah, normativity and historicity. Normatively, religion containing doctrines, the doctrines that God revealed to man. Therefore, it is "quiet" of human intervention and the truth is universal. Goal of religion is to serve as mediation to God (*hablun min Allah*) and establish rapport with one another (*min al-nas hablun*). Robert N. Bellah asserted, religion derived as an divine instrument to understand the world (2000). It was sent down as a way of life, to humanize man and as a problem solver for all problems facing by man. So, religion has two functions and meanings that have to be implemented parallelly, ie, transcendental meaning, and imanental sacred meaning, and the profane meaning.

But historically, religions are full of human intervention. Therefore, religion is not sent in a vacuum. It revealed in various historically-specific cultural spectrum, so man took an important part in religion, because religion is revealed for man, for instance, human benefit. Thus, Islam was revealed by Allah through Muhammad Rasulullah not in socio-cultural vacuum. Islam is struggling in historical objective reality, colorize and form part of human culture. In Clifford Geertz's words, religion is not autonomous. For example, Islam sent in the Arabian Peninsula with very complex part of human civilization. In Arab, there are various kinds of ethnic, religion, racial affect, which influencing mutually. So, religion is closely

⁴⁴ See, Hatim Gazali, "Menyikapi Hal Yang Dianggap Benar", *Wacana Magazine*, July, 2004

tied with local conditions and social circumstances that temporal-particular. Because religion dialectic constantly with the local culture.⁴⁵

Islam in Arab would be different (eg in its legal aspects) to Islam in Indonesia. Then the truth of religion in optic of historicity is particular.

In understanding of a religion, the both important aspects of religion should be differentiated, not separated, because their relationship is like two coins with two surfaces. Both surfaces of the coins can not be separated, but can be distinguished. Both aspects are not two independent entities and face to face, but both are interwoven in a single unit, so that the both aspects can not be tense. Therefore, ignoring one aspect means we are stuck in one particular extreme. As a result, there is no comprehensive understanding of Islam, it is bits and pieces. Later, Islam as a result of local culture construction is historically also being interpreted in a social context in which Islam sent. And so with the religious texts, the Qur'an is God's ideas translated by Muhammad through human language as a response to surrounding untouchable locality. Because the interpretation of Islam should be vary in accordance with the extent of Islam be understood. All of these interpretations are valid and accepted when they be contextualised with social reality around them.

⁴⁵Hatim Gazali, "Menyikapi Hal Yang Dianggap Benar."

Similarly, the case of contemporary religious thoughts that looks controversial. Liberal Islam will not find consensus in understanding of Islam with Fundamental Islam. Here Fundamental Islam will believe that they are right, while Liberal Islam is completely wrong, so the fight against it is one of expression of their implementation of religion, *jihad* (holy war).⁴⁶

Different Emphasis

If the both extreme religious movements in Indonesia are equally concerned the above aspects, judgment to others can be avoided. Indeed, normative Islam teaches peace and harmony. But when the messages are translated in various social realities, they are historical-sociological. Although normative Islam teaches peace and non-violence, in fact, religion is easy to run and practiced in haunted, grim, and scary ways.⁴⁷ Peace messages in Islam have different meanings in the social reality between liberal Islam and Fundamental Islam. Liberal Islam refers to substances of religious doctrine, or borrow Al-Syatiby's term of *maqasid al-Sharia* and less concerned with religious texts (non-literal), while Fundamental Islam more emphasis on textual meanings of religion, not on its substance. These results in understanding of religious messages, it not found their points of equality.

Liberal Muslims interpret their religion in accordance with their established religious paradigm (*manhaj*), and Fundamental

⁴⁶ See, Hatim Gazali, "Menyikapi Hal Yang Dianggap Benar."

⁴⁷ See, Hatim Gazali, "Menyikapi Hal Yang Dianggap Benar."

Islam as well. The both paradigms, textual and contextual will be more apparent when translated at praxis level. Fundamental Islam has belief to religion through their exclamation of jihad by sword, bomb or weapon that already prepared to to fight against their enemies. For them, violence is the only way to fight certain communities considered as their enemies. While, Liberal Islam, (or Substantive Islam), interpret their religion with full of politeness with messages of peace and non-violence, so that all forms of violence considered as violate their religion also. Thus, confrontation between the both religious streams is unstoppable.

Actually, the both patterns of religious thought on studies of Islamic thought are not new. Since early growing of Islam, the both paradigms are emerging as an attempt to understand God's will. The emergence of schools in Islamic theology, for instance, fiqh schools can be used as a reference when they have historical truth that Islam is very particular and historical.

Even, differences in understanding of God's messages have been happening since the days of Muhammad. But the differences can be minimized, because Muhammad is the authority in understanding of the ideas of God. Muhammad attitudes when dealing with those differences are very tolerant and inclusive.

The question is, how do we address the above two schools of thought? Are we going to follow one of them or just out of one of the above paradigm of thought, or are we need a new movement that could bring together and try the both paradigms, so that controversial views are no longer entrenched in face of the earth.

So to address the both paradigms of thinking (*manhaj al-fikr*) above, we should refresh our minds on the Salaf expression "*ra'yuna shawab yahtamilu al-khatha' , wa ra'yukum khatha' yahtamilu al-shawab*" [Our opinion is true, but it has the potential to go wrong and your opinion is wrong, but it contains the possibility to correct].

Thus, the potential for correct is equal to the potential for wrong either on Liberal Islam or Fundamental Islam. Fundamental Islam here is not always wrong and radical, and Liberal Islam is not so true. That's why the both religious paradigms have to be mounted equally. Liberal Islam should not be positioned as a superior paradigm, and vice versa, Fundamental Islam should not mean more superior than Liberal Islam.

Supposedly, the emergence of differences (*ikhtilaf*) of view should be welcomed well and wisely, not by cursed one of them. Therefore, the diversity of thought is a proof that Islam (Islam is the Islam in historical mind, rather than Islam as a text) varies considerably depending on person who understands it. If you are wise in looking at the diversity of views, then no one would claim them as absolute truth.⁴⁸ Karl. Popper with his theory of falsification said that new truths to be true when there is room for blame them. Because blaming one of them is a form of extreme behavior.

The difference understandings are reasonable, as far as not blaming each other, confirming only the correct opinion and not act

⁴⁸For these descriptions, please read Hatim Gazali, "Menyikapi Hal Yang Di-anggap Benar." See also, Pradana Boy ZTF, *Pluralitas Kebenaran Islam*, paper (Canberra: ANU, 2004) p.2-4.

anarchically and destructively. When these differences result in destruction, bombing, arson and other violences, at the time, violence in the name of religion became increasingly large also.

Violence would also be replied with violence, and so on, in which the afterward violences would be more awesome than the pre-vios one. Differentiate the both frameworks of thinking for looking at who favor the truth, is a futile work and further exacerbate the debate between the two camps.

Inadvisable in looking at the both patterns of religious thought, not only result in conflicting arguments, fights for the truth, but often lead to physical fights and even murders.

Discursive War and MUI Fatwa

As discussed at the beginning of this paper, fatwa of the Cogress of Indonesian National Council of Ulemas (MUI) VII in August 2005 was forbidden pluralism which considered all religions are same, secularism and liberalism and all of their derivatives.

Counter-fatwa then emerged from liberal groups emerged on the fatwa, and the fight is not yet final. At first, the attack of Liberal Islam to the MUI's fatwa has become tremendous controversy. Ulil Abshor Abdalla's statement that the MUI's fatwa is ridiculous and stupid, assessed by the MUI as inappropriate words. Ulil later apologized to the MUI. While, Dawam Rahardjo said that the MUI's fatwa arise because of ignorance and prejudice, and can be socially divisive and troubling, and also threatening foundations of life of

the nation state that has slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Therefore, according to Dawam, MUI should be dissolved.

Statements of Ulil and Dawam cause reverse reactions of the MUI and Fundamental Islam who feel be harassed. This development coincided with the MUI fatwa to ban Ahmadiyya movement. As a result, those events have thrown Muslims, both the Fundamental and the Liberal, in controversy and tension.⁴⁹

Interesting that in the issues of pluralism, there are differences of interpretation and perception between the Liberal and Fundamental Islam. The Fundamental Islam see religious pluralism as a view that relativize the truth of religion, a relativism that harmful for the Muslim faith in conducts of worship. While, the Liberals saw the idea of pluralism, as in the sense of Nurcholish Madjid that pluralism (as I understand it) is an attempt to overcome boundaries of formal religion as an institution to build tolerance, civility and unity in a common struggle to overcome injustice, poverty and underdevelopment.

Nurcholish Madjid been argued that pluralism can not be understood simply by saying that our society is plural, diverse, consisting of various races and religions, that would only describe impression of fragmentation, not pluralism. Pluralism also should not be understood merely as a "negative goodness", just judging from its utility to get rid of fanaticism. Pluralism should be understood as "a true linkages of diversity in bonds of civilization". In

⁴⁹,"Ulama Dihina, Tumpas Gerombolan Liberal", *Sabili Magazine*, No.3, Vol. XIII, August 25, 2005.

fact, pluralism is also a necessity for salvation of mankind, for instance through resulted supervision and compensatory mechanisms. In the Koran states that God created the supervisory mechanism and balance among human beings in order to maintain integrity of the earth and as a manifestation of God's mercy to mankind,"If God does not keep pace with the class of human being with other class, then surely earth was destroyed, but God had mercy in abundance to all of nature." (Holy Quran, 2:251). Thus, pluralism is part of the most core belief. However, the view and the understanding of pluralism are still a debate among Liberal and Fundamental Islam in Indonesia.

In the perception of Ahmad Sahal, history of liberalism is history of modern individual freedom and its liberation from power absolutism. Since the end of 17th century, along with unsound trade and enlightenment in Europe, emerging awareness in Western societies about importance of individual freedom, and they were exhausted by religious wars and stuffy with ancient despotism regime.⁵⁰ However, the Sahal's view that the sum of liberalism and secularism is democracy,⁵¹ made an impressive simplification that tends to invite rage while strengthening misunderstanding of Fundamental Muslims that liberal democracy is incompatible with teachings of Islam, and that as though Islam does not have a reference source for value and inspiration of democracy. In fact,

⁵⁰ Ahmad Sahal, "MUI dan Fatwa Antidemokrasi," *Tempo Magazine*, August 21, 2005, p.156

⁵¹ Ahmad Sahal, "MUI dan Fatwa Antidemokrasi."

Islamic traditions since the time of Rasullulah already has democracy (*syuraa*) and modern nation state, as in the case of Medina to the Ottoman era and even up to Cordova era (*Spain of three religion*). Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid greatly appreciate history of the experience of Medina state (the Charter of Madinah) as a model of "constitutional democracy" in Islam, in the early development of Islam of building a state in a plural society.

The fact of MUI fatwa and its counter-fatwa shows that psychological war between⁵² Fundamental (literal) Islam and Liberal Islam in Indonesia have pushed and continuesly run, to fight for influence in political and socio-cultural spheres with all of its implications. Competition between the both streams of Islam also led to criticism from devout Muslims who are not involved in the rivalry of both ideologies, especially criticism about how far the Liberal and Fundamental Islam committed to overcome poverty, injustice and oppression of the ummah in the era of stronger neo-liberalism in Indonesia. Also how far their "real job and roles" to empower the Muslim ummah that left behind, weakened and marginalized by bias of modernism, specifically material and Western capital bias.

Moderate Muslims argued that pointed out the MUI fatwa will hit foundations of democracy (liberal) in Indonesia, may be overkill, but reacted to condemn the renewal of Islamic thought also

⁵²Pradana Boy ZTF, *Pluralitas Kebenaran Islam*, p.2-4. Talks with Pradana Boy in Jakarta, early July, 2009.

does not solve problem and actually increase temperature of contention and tension among Muslims.⁵³

In this context, there are similar symptoms in controversy about the MUI fatwa -although not many in mass media-, namely a discussion Hartono Ahmad's book entitled "There is Apostasy in IAIN" took place at Sharif Hidayatullah, State Islamic University of Jakarta (2004) shown clearly the "war of ideas" of Liberal Islam versus Fundamental sacartically-antagonistically, a bright sign of competition scrambling for socio-cultural spaces, by the both parties. In fact, not long after the Congress of Indonesian Muslims (KUII) IV in Jakarta recommend that the MUI should issue a fatwa to ban Islamic movement carrying ideas of secularism, pluralism and liberalism in Indonesia. Furthermore, in a number of mailing lists and even there are death threats and blood allowing for supporters of ideas of Liberal Islam.

This fact easily could be estimated happens caused by presence of different interpretations of Islam. That Islam is understood as a single doctrine recognizing only single interpretation. Furthermore, the belief that there is only a single correct interpretation of Islam prompted unilateral truth claims and at the same time denying truths of other groups. These symptoms are by no means a novelty in history of Islamic thought in the world. Tidal of Mu'tazilah as official ideology and the ideology opposed by the state, was an event experienced by a number of Muslim intellectuals

⁵³ Conversation with aktivist Muslim HMI and UIN Syarif Hidayatulah Ciputat, August 25, 2005.

in the Middle East, from Ali Abd al-Raziq, Ahmad Khalafullah to Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid, Fazlur Rahman migration from his native country, Pakistan to United States, are witness of the actual history.

Single interpretation of Islamic truth, however, is dangerous because it could lead to political and power monopoly in the name of religion, as had happened in the past in experience in the Middle East caliphate dynasty era.

Claims as the sole owner of the Islamic truth can occur because the supporters of the idea of a single Islamic truth generally in a position to consider the whole dimension of Islam is-in Arkoun's terminology-unthought and Unthinkable. If the field is not being thought about developed and expanded in particular traditions of thought, then the horizon will experience threat of intellectual reasoning and its critical functions are narrowed and weakened, because the space lot of rethinking can be very tight and only little space is left open to interpretation (Arkoun, 2003). Inevitably, this unthought, Arkoun argued, formed from accumulated number of issues that are then expressed as Unthinkable in a already given logosphere. Arkoun formulated logosphere as linguistic mental space used jointly by a group of people who use the same languages to articulate their thoughts, representations, collective memory and knowledge, based on fundamental principles and values, which claimed as a unifying *weltanschauung*.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Pradana Boy ZTF, *Pluralitas Kebenaran Islam*, p.2-4.

Islam is both a religion and way of life raised a glorious civilization in the days of Rasululah and the caliphs. To maintain and develop the Islamic civilization by no means rejected inclusion of foreign civilization elements. On the contrary, to be fair to other civilizations do not mean to be permissive to entry of all sorts of other civilization elements without due adaptation and acculturation process.

In this case, we can understand the views of Pradana Boy, lecturer at University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM) who studied at ANU Canberra, that with progressive-regressive consciousness in the context of debate between Fundamental Islam and Liberal Islam, it would be a stretching fact that the search for the Islamic truth throughout history of the religion, raising no single truth.

No single truth is not show that Islam has been reduced further or Muslims far elucidated from its source, but rather show how Islam as a religion proved itself durable and capable of entering recesses of time without losing its actuality.

Therefore, in facing of the Liberal Islam, public should encourage Adian Husaini, Adnin Armas, Hamid F. Zarkasyi and his friends from the camp of Fundamental Islam to be act intellectually over Reform Group together with different types of its derivation, from the Liberal Islam to lovers of Hermeneutics, all of which must be dealt with adequately through knowledge that they are offset, politely and elegantly, far from emotional and brutal attitudes. In contrast, Liberal Islam, in response to Fundamental Islam should not act reactionary and impress intellectual coquetry.

In the context of modernity, what be needed is not merely a progressive interpretation of Islam, but also consider the past as a source of inspiration to reach the Islamic truth. Arkoun termed it as progressive-regressive method. With this method, it was intended by Arkoun's incorporation is a long-term historical perspective with short-term perspective, because all forms of contemporary discourses born in the context of Islam, It is always referring to the early periods of Islam and the "Golden Age" of Islamic civilization which used as a mythological reference to enable and represents the values in form of ethical and legal paradigms, which need to be re-examined based on principle of Islamic "critique of reason".⁵⁵

In the end, I think correct predictions of a thinker and scholar, Yudi Latif PhD⁵⁶, that in the present and future of Indonesia, Islamic discourses in the arena of fighting for political opportunity structure, political space, and social-cultural for aspirations, interests and ideals of every parties, will depend on how far capital power of social, cultural and economic of the Liberal Islam and the Fundamental Islam in the race to seize political and social space. So that in enforcements of social virtue and civility as well. The discursive arena will be more colored by Adian Husaini circle and Ulil Abshar Abdalla cs, that filling current generation of public space a lot, with their character, method, manner, style and epistemology, respectively, which probably tend to lead to a "mode-

⁵⁵Pradana Boy ZTF, *Pluralitas Kebenaran Islam*, p.2-4.

⁵⁶ Yudi Latif, "Kejarangan Membawa Nilai," *Kompas Newspaper*, July 2, 2005.

ration" considering development of human civilization are fast-moving rapidly due to swift pragmatism, modernism, and globalism carrying banners of democracy and pluralism, mutual balance and mutual control, in the middle of complexities of the changing world. The battles between Fundamental Islam versus Liberal Islam in fight for structure of political opportunity and public space is going to long lasting and there are no bright spots of if the project Islamism will continue or even stuck in a middle road. *Wallahualam bissawab.*

MEDINA STATE: REFLECTION AND DECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGION AND PLURALISM¹

Raising crisis and conflict are caused by rigidity of human being interpretation on ideology and religion among modern society, which have come to be uncomplained fact today. In Indonesia, there are political Islam movements and religious radicalism and fanaticism as in so many riot cases in Flores, in 1995, then Ketapang, Sambas, Kupang, and Ambon (Molucca) in 1999-2000, they are always interconnected with human being interpretation on ideology and religion around them.²

¹ This monograph is a revision of the writer's books, *Negara Madinah: Refleksi tentang Agama dan Pluralisme* (Jakarta: Madani Press, 2000).

² This writing is originally an essay written by Ulil Abshar Abdalla and Herdi SRS in the *Ulumul Quran* journal (sorry, we forgot the date and year). It will not be completed without the help of Ulil Abshar Abdalla's thinking and writing to translate Arkoun's thought from Arabic, for that we are very grateful to Ulil Abshar. The responsibility rests on us. This writing examines issues about officialization and formalization of religion (Islam and its political impact) and ideology in Indonesia, as well as critical comments against them. This writing is inspired by Islamic thought developed and published in the *Prisma journal*. Particularly, "Islam in Indonesia: In Search of a New Image", in the *Prisma journal* No. 39, March 1985, the English edition. and "The Long Ramadan: Islamic Politics under the New Order", in the *Prisma journal* No. 49, June 1990, the English edition, as well as "Generasi Baru Pemikiran Islam", in the *Prisma journal* No. 3, March 1991. This book also inspired by Islamic thought published in the *Ulumul Quran* journal, especially the issue of "Islam dan Politik" in the

There is concern that the crisis and conflict arised out due to rigidity of religion and ideology in modern society, they will in-creasingly become widespread problems. Before the coming of the 2nd century, which according to Andre Malraux expected to be the century of religion, some skeptics still wonder if his futuristic expectations and predictions will be proven. In the uncertainty on the future of mankind, at least, skeptical feelings on the Malraux's expectations are quite reasonable.

Seeing destruction of socialism in the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia and generally Eastern Europe, global capitalism crisis, Arab-Israeli conflict, violence between Islam and Hindu in India, Nipah, Madura, Maluku, Mataram, riots among Catholic communities in Flores and crisis of religious institutions and other ideologies on the earth, strongly indicates that so far, ideology and religion tend to present an authoritarian "regime".³

"*Ulumul Qur'an*" journal No. 1, Vol.IV, th 1995. It is also encouraged by the idea agenda, written by Ahmad Sahal in the "*Kalam*" journal, edition No. 1/1994. Sahal in his essay said that unlike many people's misunderstand, the project of emancipation initiated by modernism or neomodernism, which many Muslim intellectuals embraced them, are not simply disappear by the announcing of "human death" by postmodernism. This writing is about to find emancipator space the discourse of postmodernism (post structuralism), in the context of concrete issue we face in Indonesia, namely excessive institutionalization of religion and ideologization, which kill people creativity of to perform free discourse on the state ideology. Please, read Ahmad Sahal, "Kemudian, Di Manakah Emansipasi", in the *Kalam* journal, 1/1994, p. 12-22.

³ Discussions on religion have been turned into anauthoritarian "regime" of truths, this written quite attractively by Hasheem Saleh. Please read Hasheem Saleh, "Baina Malhumil Urthuduksiyyah Wal 'Aqliyyah Ad-Dughmatiyyali", in Mohammed Arkoun, *Al-FIkrol Islamy: Qirash llimiyyah* (Lebanon: Al Inma Markazul Qaamy, 1987), p. 5.

Religious messages and ideologies in the early presence, more tends to liberation. In the history, they are vanished, swallowed up by historical processes that distorting them. Christianity/Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism and so on, also the ideologies of socialism, capitalism, and others, are now facing both visible and hidden crisis in middle of the changing world and humanity.

The arising crisis are caused by history, religion and ideology turned into a "hierarchy", in which the ruling institution is the "autho-ri-ty" with given rights to decide about truth in the name of "Absolute authority", whether it is called God, ruling party, literated class, etc.

Scriptural texts of religions and ideologies that originally contain universal messages, and then standardized by certain interpretations, "formalized" by religious institutions and ideology, then become a "taught" to the their people (umma) or community as being completed, complete and impervious to criticism. The officialization finally have fatal consequences: those religions have lost their prophetic messages as "liberation religion", and the ideologization has resulted in dehumanizing.⁴

⁴ Meanwhile, about the ideologization process in Indonesia that then away from spirits of the constitution, and raising monopoly of "interpretation" toward the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, repeatedly argued by Abdurrahman Wahid. Please read Abdurrahman Wahid, "Individu, Negara dan Ideologi," a paper for Soedjatmoko Memorials Lecture (published in the *Kompas Newspaper*, February 4, 1994). See also Mohammed Arkoun, *Tarikhyyatul Fikril 'Araby Al-Islamy*, tr. Hasheem Saleh, (Beirut: Markazul Inma Al-gaumy, 1986). Officialization of religion (Islam) has been fully criticized by Arkoun, an avant-gardis

Religion and Religious Interpretation

When religion are experiencing excessive institutionalization process, then there is silencing of wealth of scriptural interpretation. Beside the official interpretation recognized by competent authorities, it is impossible for another interpretation to recognize the truth. The scripture that is originally open to all interpretations, has become silence its voice to just "read one interpretation" only (monophonic exegesis). Religious communities beyond the "official" interpretation will be branded with an apostate or heretical act. If so, it would give birth to a kind of historical caricatures of the Inquisition in the Al-Ma'mun era (for the case of Islam) or in the reform period (for the case of Christianity). In fact, ironically, we can still see the caricatures in Indonesia today, for example, to refer to the most recent example of "hot" polemic about Islam as has been argued by Nurcholish Madjid's reformation. Altogether, they show that when religion has become an institution monopolized by certain authorities, it will lose its character as "liberator" religion, but, conversely, as the judge handed verdict to his people who do or have some heretical interpretations.

However, oddly enough, the phenomenon (institutionalizing of religion), occurs in all religions in the world. If during the time

Muslim thinker from Algeria who lived in France. In that term, Arkoun vigorously developed the Derrida's deconstruction method. Read Mohamad Arkoun, "Kaifa Nadrusu Alfikral Islami", in Mohammed Arkoun, *Tarikhyyatul Fikril 'Araby Al-Islami*, p.12-48. Critiques on officialization of ideology in the context of modern Indonesian politics, please read Abdurrahman Wahid, "Individu, Negara dan Ideologi."

we witnessed a war, or at least, heat of interfaith conflict, then, in fact, who worked there, for the most part, are interests of religious "institution" to maintain their interests respectively, instead of people conscience that able to read the "truth" excessively better as something that "beyond religion as institution": something that is beyond mere religion as an institution; religion as a representation of the truth that planted in "earth of cleanest conscience " of human being from their birth nature to bring the truth as those ever been demonstrated by religions (in Islam, for example, there is a hadith: *istafti qalbaka*-ask for directions to your heart).⁵

Challenges of all people of religion now are lied in the fact that all religions have been "wiped out" by the storm shut down the process of the institutionalization that has a prophetic message liberating them during the time. How can people of religion today, facing rapid changes in cosmic level, to re-interpret texts of each religion? It became necessary, if the religions do not want to be abandoned by their people or buried by the fast-moving current history.

⁵ According to Arkoun who borrows Derrida's concept, that's be called as logocentrism (*al 'aqliyyatul markaziyyah*). The logocentrism, for Arkoun, is assumption of existence of "Great Narratives" (logos) authorized to monopolize interpretation of certain texts. This is what ultimately creates binary opposition between what Arkoun called in his books as "impense discourse" and "Pense discourse" (*Al-Khithabul La-Mufakkar fihi* and *Al-Khithab Al-Mufakkar fihi*-discourse that may be considered and should not be considered). Please read Muhammad Arkoun, *Aina Huwal Fikrul Islamy Al-Mu'ashir*, tr. Hasheem Saleh, (Beirut: Darus Saqi, 1993).

Ideology and Human Being

Ideologies are, now in a betting. Capitalism will continue to strive to break away from the crisis, undermining or weakness in them to survive in the world stage.

It is undeniable that in today's world stage, to borrow the Nirwan Dewanto's word, advanced capitalism is capitalism that has changed its character because it has a lot to learn from variety of undermining and criticism. Capitalism moves its emphasize from manufacture industry to services and information industry. Capitalism that in its long-term interest, intelligently accommodate demands of labour unions, environment sustainability and and creativity/critic from their consumers. It is capitalism that integrates many elements of socialism to itself. Capitalism is working with principles of decentralization and deregulation because centralized system can not readily deal with rapid change. capitalism does not offer uniformity of style/cultural image because labor market has highly diversified.⁶

Single interpretation of capitalism has shifted to a new interpretation by various theorists and interpretators of ideology. This make capitalism can adapt to changing times and allow it to survive continuesly until today.

Yet, capitalism still facing crisis (both visible and hidden crisis), which comes from its own understanding and order, which based on materialism principles. As Vaclav Havel argued, the

⁶ Nirwan Dewanto, "Seni, Pluralisme, Kapitalisme, dan Kita", in *Tempo Magazine*, January 8, 1994.

future of human civilization is at stake of no longer on the principles of materialism. To build the future civilization, we have to take into account transcendentalism dimensions that is being forgotten during the epoch of modernism. Eric Voegelin, an American philosopher of history, in his masterpiece work, "Order and History", also suggests that the efforts to build the future of human civilization, have to be base on sensitivity to those dimensions.

Then, how about Socialism and Pancasila? Socialism, like fascism in Germany and Japan that collapsed in World War II, since the late 1980's as well as the disintegration of the Soviet Union and communist states in Eastern Europe, those are reflections of the failure of ideology in the region earlier. It has become historical evidence that state ideology of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from its beginning carried out massively with commands of "The Top, The Knowledgeable, The Mighty". Therefore, in practice, "single inter-pretation" becomes inevitable. The argument is that ideology as religion, containing noble values and relevance for national development efforts organized by certain states and governments. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, of course there were standardized theorization and comprehensive conceptualization of socialism, "single interpretation", agenda of local authorities, which those had have to be defended at all costs and effort.⁷

⁷ Goenawan Mohamad told about a unique caricature: the Communist Party office in Warsaw, Poland converted into a stock exchange. This is the most pro-minent symbol, but also a caricature of the collapse of the great ideology that

However, still the pressure from bottom, top, and side mesh with rapid changes in many aspects of life at global, regional and local levels, have undermined ideology, up to become pieces and lead to total disintegration and degeneration in public life.

With the lessons of Fascism and Socialism experiences, so Indonesian state ideology, at least faced with the question: Could it give clarity of meaning and understanding for people that serves as a means of preserving the unity and integrity of the nation?

In fact, today we see and experience how it is used only as an ideological justification for power holder's policies and granting legitimacy to the existing system of government, as well as do not have much meaning for life of the nation. This in themselves makes increasing blankwidth for people that should be filled by development of citizenship rights, which become objective requirements for the whole nation. Without fulfillment of individual citizen rights, including the right to interpret through new and plural way on the ideology, in line with social changes and developments of its time, the ideology will only further eliminate people trust in the existing system of government.

Viewed from cultural power perspective, it appeared that national ideology is only a single monopolist interpretation by the ruler, Who has authorities, holds the Government. There are strong

for about a half of century become belief of millions of human beings. Read Goenawan Mohamad, "Revolusi dan Praksis Anarkis: Marxisme dan Post-modernisme, Dilihat Dari Indonesia di Tahun 1993," *Kalam Journal*, No. 1, 1994, p. 71-79. Please check, Dorodjatun Kuntjorojakti, "Soedjatmoko's lecture: for Soedjatmoko memorial lecture," *Kompas Newspaper*, February 4, 1994.

tendencies among the power holders to emphasize particular case above universality of human rights and cultural relativity of demand for freedom absoluteness, suggesting that the efforts of power holders to a single interpretation of the ideology, and the use of ideology as a shield to maintain statusquo and establishment, which steril from reform toward more civilized, advanced and dynamic life. Even in this case, Abdurrahman Wahid saw it as a diversion of attention from necessities of creating a social and religious framework to maintain formidable accomplishment achieved in various fields of development.⁸

Another impact of single interpretation that is difficulty of a new and fresh interpretation to the national ideology to raise to sur-face due to different interpretations will be considered as "dissent", even "extreme" and "dangerous" and therefore have to be destroyed or at least to be "isolated" from circulation of "discourse" in socio-political aspects of national life.

That is causes the new and fresh interpretation, which contextual with times and society becomes a necessity, if this ideology do not want to be left by people who become its supporters. That only can become true through contextual and continuous reinterpretation, and our ideology will be open to changing times and conditions to avoid authoritarianism that spay society.

⁸ See Abdurrahman Wahid," Individu, Negara dan Ideologi."

One of very useful intellectual tool to do the reinterpretation over ideologization and excessive institutionalization of religion, is the method of deconstruction.

The Method of Deconstruction

Today, in humanity sciences, the method of "deconstruction", which was introduced by Jacques Derrida, - one of contemporary leading poststructuralist philosopher, - has been popular as a reference. This method provides significant contribution, especially in the field of literary criticism. This method, then, was used by various disciplines of humanities, including an avant-gardis Islamic thinker who born in Aljazair, lived in France, Mohamad Arkoun, who have used the method to reconstruct classical scientific tradition of Islam.⁹

If the method applied to be the deconstruction of religious texts and ideology, then the first that have to be done is to "separate" monolinier relationship between text and its "meaning" -

⁹ Hasheem Saleh, an Arkoun's students and friends, called this method as "Manhajut Tafiq". The deconstruction method used by Arkoun to perform a critique to various orthodoxies that have emerged in history of Islam, particularly which most profound is orthodoxy of Sunni, Shiite and Khawarij. For Arkoun, the orthodoxies are responsible for the birth of binary oppositions in history of Islam: mukmin/kafir (believer/infidel), muslim/murtad (Muslim/apostate), sunah/bidah (orthodox/heresy), and so on. The orthodoxies made different qualifications of the binary categories. Therefore, for instance, the category of "believer" for Sunni orthodoxy is different from Khawarij orthodoxy. Each orthodoxy build what Arkoun- to borrow Derrida's phrase, be called as "logocentrism", which is a kind of fully conscious logos and had to do a single arbitrary interpretation of scriptural texts appropriately. Please read, Arkoun, *Tarikhiyyatul Fikri'l'Araby*.

(read: interpretation). The belief, that there are "final" texts with particular interpretations, have to be dismantled. Therefore, such a conviction, will cause many negative impacts. First, bigotry against particular interpretations, and rejected possibility of validity of other interpretations. Secondly, would rule out the open possibility to various interpretations of the texts. With closing of interpretation diversity, then, a text will be decay. Third, a text that has been silenced by inauguration of one interpretation only, will cause the text be no longer meaningful in facing of fast social change in today's modern times.

Deconstruction of the text, then open up possibilities of diversity of text interpretation, because linear relationships between the text and the final interpretation have been broken.

The deconstruction of the texts also bring other more socialist consequences, ie dismantle monopoly on interpretations by certain authorities, who speak of "single truth" in the name of God, country or ruler. Because, presupposing of existence of the certain authorities, it also means assuming of existence of "The I-Transcendent" known better than other parties in the meaning and interpretation of texts. When "The I-Transcendent", which in its sociological manifestation could be everything, such as clerics, rulers, priests, monks, rabbis, bishops, and so on, they have been "killed" then will open possibilities for diversity of interpretation. The interpretation become relatively "democratic", in the sense of possibility that the truth is not a monopoly of particular interpretations.

If religion and ideology would like to stand and to survive, they have to "re-interpret" of the texts under scrutiny paradigm dominating discourses of modern human cultures today, that is anthropocentric paradigm (although this paradigm has been "killed" by the flow through post-structuralist criticism of "Metaphysical presence", however, at least through Habermas thought, anthropocentrism, which is based on "communicative ratio", is still relevant). Appearances of the latter paradigm are in fact also announce the early era of "deconstruction" to religious and ideological heritage.

Through anthropocentric paradigm, human beings become "the center". In this case, the concept of "truth" is also changed, not as this is understood during the time, the truth is not really has a "single" face, because man is the "interpretation center". While, the man themselves are not uniform in their "reserve of knowledge", thus, consequently, the interpretation become widely different. Diversity itself is basis for the fact that the "truth" is also not single anyway.

The understanding of single truth, actually relates to the assumption that there is "The I-Transcendent" who knows everything about the text, so that the interpretation that has produced "single tyranny" of the truth. then, when "The I-Transcendent" deconstructed through the concept of, to borrow a Mohammed Arkoun's terminology, "historicity logos", and, thus, also means "historicity of interpretation", then an abuse of the loss of its "carrying capacity". There comes an "interpretation of plurality"

alternative. In the context of pluralism, the hegemony of interpretation is undermined, and the texts become "alive" again and open to all interpretations. With collapse of the "hegemony", so that, there is collapse of "text feudalism" on religion and ideology as well, which marked by beginning of rigidity of thought over the years.

There is revealed possibility to do the "discourse" on texts of religions and ideologies in a democratic manner. There is also visible that the idea of deconstruction contains an ample possibility for emancipation for religion and ideology, can be ascertained the existence of a strong desire to borrow a Boris Pasternak's phrase in "Dr. Zhivago", "reshape lives". That will apparently in course of history, arising tragedies because of hegemony, domination, exclusion, marginalization, and so on. In short, it will have resulted in the birth of great constructions of human life, great dreams about form and life in the distant future. The utopianistic construction turned out to fail when it comes to diversity of real life. In there, the deconstruction method offer "liberation" from great colonizing constructions. Emancipation is possible, when through its method, face to face between relativised "center/periphery".

Preventing "Feodalism"

By trying to learn and to apply Jacques Derrida's "Deconstruction", we want to see the issue of religious texts. Many people in this age have to realize religion so far, tend to be present as an authoritarian "regime". As we have mentioned in earlier pages of this writing, religious messages at its early presence are more likely

to attempt liberation, in its history, vanished-swallowed distorting historical processes. Religion become and present as a "hierarchy" of ruling institutions, They are the "authorities" that have rights to say about the truth in the name of God. Original text of Scriptures contain universal messages, and then standardized by certain interpretations "inaugurated" by a religious institution, and then, be "taught" to umat (people of religion). Outside the official interpretations, there could not be any other interpretation recognized as source of truth. The scriptures that are originally open to all interpretations, silenced their voice to just "read as satay inter-pretation" of them. People who are out of the "regime" of interpretation would be treated as apostates or heretical. If so, it gives birth to a kind of historical caricature of the Inquisition in the Al-Ma'mun era (for the case of Islam) and the Protestant Reformation era (for the case of Christianity). In fact, ironically, the caricature that still can be witnessed at the present time. (To illustrate: our memories, of course, still fresh to the "hot" polemic of Islam being waged reform movement by Nurcholish Madjid, who fondly called Cak Nur.

Altogether it show that when religion has become an institution monopolised by a certain authority, then it was no longer meetits adherents as "liberators", but, instead, as a judge for distributively sentencing its people who do heretics or deviations of interpretation. However, strangely, the phenomenon of institutionalizing religion, occurs in all religions in the world. If during the time we witnessed a war, or at least heats of conflict, among religions, then, in fact, that work there, for the most part, religious

"agencies" interests maintain them respectively, instead of people of conscience interests, who sometimes more able to read the "truth" as something "beyond the religion as institution", planted truth in the "world's cleanest conscience" of human being from his birth natures to bring the truth as it has ever been demonstrated by the Prophet through a hadith: *istafti qalbaka*, inquire at your heart; back to your heart!

Presently, challenges for all religious people are lies in the fact that all religions have been "wiped out" by the storm shut down the process of institutionalization that has liberating prophetic message during the time. How can religious people today facing rapid changes in the cosmic level, re-interpret the texts of their respective religions? It becomes necessary, if religions do not want religion to be abandoned by their people or buried by fast-moving current history. However, how can the challenge quite "heavy" to be answered. With too big enough reckless and "guts", we want to answer that, though still should be noted that the "answer" is still a mere effort to "try".

Once More Deconstruction

In humanity sciences at this time, the method of "deconstruction" introduced by Jacques Derrida, a French philosopher, one of contemporary leading poststructuralist. This method provides significant contributions, especially in the field of literary criticism. This method then used by various disciplines of humanity sciences. Even an avant-gardis Muslim thinker who birth in Al-

Jazair and lived in France, Mohamad Arkoun, have used this method to reconstruct classical scientific tradition of Islam. Arkoun, through his students and intellectual friends, Hasheem Saleh, call it as "*manhajut tafqiq*".

The deconstruction method is too complex to be covered in this book. however, to just give a quick explanation, we will show how the method used to "read" text, via a Madan Sarup's text as follows:

"...meaning is not immediatately present in sign. Since the meaning is always in some sense absent from it too. Meaning is scattered or dispersed along the whole chain of signifiers; it can not be easily nailed down, it is never fully present in any one sign alone, but rather a kind of constant flickering of presence and absence together. Reading a text is more like tracing this process of constant than like counting the beads on a neck of lice".¹⁰

Essentially, Derrida would like to say that relationship between signs (signifier) with its meanings (signified) is not like relationship between glass (mirror) with object that reflected on it. In the latter case, the mirror can just be a duplicate of the object. Secondly, for Derrida, that the two identical things has "identical"

¹⁰ Please check, Madan Sarup, *An Introduction to Post-structuralism and Post-modernism* (New York: Harvester Whitesheaf, 1988), p. 35-36. To further, please see also Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: A Touchstone Book, 1972). Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966). Stave Best, Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogation* (London: Macmillan, 1991). Mohamad Arkoun, *Tarikhyyatul Fikr 'Araby Al-Islamy*, tr. Hasheem Saleh, (Beirut: Markazul Inma Al-qaumy, 1986); "Problems of Communism" *Journal*, in the theme of 'Toward A Postcommunist World', Washington DC: the January-April 1992 edition.

relationship is rejected. On the contrary, he argued that the meaning is dispersed and scattered along series of existing signs. It is like water flow moves on pipe. Efforts of nailing down it, are futile. In poetic language, Sarup said that reading texts, which consists of series of signs is like a "tracing" what he called a "process of constant flickering", namely "its flashed-flashing" sign on an ongoing basis. Sign, thus, never flashed continuously, so it can be traced precise meanings in itself. Instead, signs are like fireflies that move between two pendulum constantly: "light" (presence) and "dark" (absence). Thus, the emerging meaning immersed in a "sea" of signs. sometimes clearly visible, but sometimes also disappeared suddenly. Meanings never come loudly and clearly. They more like picture silhouet: "teasing", but, frequently, also "trapping".

What are consequences of the way of reading the texts? Quite obviously, its implications can be radical and subversive. Because if we follow the Derrida's method, then we will be forced to "always" do not believe in meanings of texts, whose others try to formulate and present to us as a final doctrine. Meanings in a text can not be defined clearly and exactly, because they are always moving like water flows beneath sea surface. Any attempt to lift the meanings of sign heap have to be always accompanied by an awareness that the successful removal meanings are not yet "final process". Meanings that appears should be relativised by possible presence of other meanings. If we want to stop the "flow" of meaning, so at that time we've been stuck on text "decay". Rotten and obsolete texts are useless any more for human being. Therefore, man is

living entity, and therefore constantly on the move. For people who live, the died text is like a "sword" which may cut who lives on his conscience awareness.

Another consequence is, that by understanding of texts as Derrida's insights, we will confront the fact that there is no "monoliner" relationship between text (sign) with its meanings. They are two separate things. There are many possible relationships between text/sign and meaning. This then raises the text as a multi-interpretable "sign" (*muta'addid* at interpretation); text that can be interpreted in a way and a different way. The separation between text and meaning can result in subversive and radical things. Because this would expose a lot of believes in authority among the institutions that always want to maintain linear relationship between particular texts and "meanings" (read: interpretation). Text is one thing, while the interpretation is something else.

Related to the method of deconstruction, there is another Derrida's important concept, the "logocentrism" (Hasheem Saleh call it important as, "*narkaziyyatul 'Aqil*"). Logocentrism, Sarup said, is "a belief that the first and the last thing is the logos, the Word, the Divine Mind, the self-presence of full self-consciousness".

Logocentrism is the mirror of a belief in "last instance", whatever it means, is it logos, Transcendent Mind, full present self-awareness, by rejecting the "last instance", then Derrida, through his concept of logocentrism, he said that there is no "Last significance" in a text. For, if no such thing as, he say, "I am fully conscious Transcendent", then the result is that "I" has an absolute "power" dis-

cretion to determine specific meanings of a text. Through "kill" the I-Transcendent, then opened a number of chances to put plural meanings of the text. I am no longer in power, who pretend to be certain Transcendent "body-guard" for a text, but I am the reader. Through the deconstruction of logocentrism, "reading public" which has not been ignored, will get respect. This is what Sarup referred to as "(the) celebrating of the readers", "celebration" of respect for the readers.

Complex Problem

How the deconstruction method applied to religious texts? This is complicated, because it involves "moving" history of the text, institutional interests of the orthodoxy guardian as well as psychological uncertainty of religious people to leave the "pleasure" was under "warmth" heritage. However, if religion is going to continue to survive in today's modern times, the "deconstruction" is one possible method to reconstruct obsolete religious traditions.

First of all, perhaps, worthy to mention the efforts made by Mohamad Arkoun to apply this method to the texts in Islamic heritage. Arkoun, for example, called for a breakthrough to enter taboo "territories" of thought. Arkoun called the area as a "discourse l'impensee" (*al-khithabat alla mufakkar fiha*; unthinkable discourses).

In case of Sunni, there are a lot of taboo areas, which "unclean" to be thought by the people, for instance about Sunni-Shi'a relations, the possibilities to discuss dispute between the prophete's friends, the doctrine of superiority of *naql* (scriptural)

arguments against the 'aql (rational) proposition, are some examples of those areas. In Sunni tradition there is also what in the Catholic tradition called as "Index", ie a list of books or sects considered as manipulative, and disseminator of heresy. If we read the book of "*Thabaqatusy Syafi'iyah Al Kubra*" by Imam Subky, or "*Al Fatawa Al Haditsiyyah*" by Imam Ibn Hajar Al Haitami, then we will find sort of things. Or if you read the books that explore history of sects by Sunni historians, Asy-Syahrastani, al-Baghdadi, Ibn Hazm, Al-Ash'ari, etc., - The things that stand out in these books is efforts to dismiss non-Sunni sects, as well as strengthening the Sunni sect itself as the "most" correct sect. The sects outside the Sunni are often put under rubrics of "*Al-Mubtadi'ah*" (the heretical sects). Arkoun wants us to "dismantle" (deconstructing) the taboo built in Sunni history, thought that in order to re-open possibility to interpret the religion in accordance with the spirit and the "leitmotiv" of our time. Without deconstruct the traditions, it is impossible to make a breakthrough in religious thought. Because, if so, what happens is merely a "conservation" (*muhafadzah*) doctrine.

If the deconstruction method applied to the religious texts, then first of all that we have to be done is to "separate" monoliner relationship between the texts with "meaning" (read: interpretation) of them. A belief that there is "final" text with particular interpretations, have to be dismantled. Therefore, such a conviction, will cause many negative impacts. Firstly, the bigotry against particular interpretations, and rejection to possibilities of other interpretation validity. Secondly, would rule out open possibility to various inter-

pretations of the texts. With the closing of interpretation diversity, then text will decay. Third, a text that has been silenced by inauguration of one interpretation only, will cause the text is no longer meaningful in facing of the fast contemporary social change. The deconstruction of text, then open up possibility of diversity of text interpretation. Therefore, a linear relationship between the text and the final interpretation is broken.

Deconstruction of the text also brings other more sociological consequences, namely to dismantle monopoly on certain authority interpretations, who speak of "single truth" in the name of God. Because, with assumes a certain authority, it also means that assumes the existence of the I-Transcendent knows better than others on meanings and interpretations of a text. When the I-Transcendent, which in sociological manifestations could be anything (religious scholars, priests, monks, rabbis, bishops, etc.), Have been "killed", then it opens possibilities for variety of interpretations. Interpretations into something, more or less "democratic", in the sense of possibility that the truth is not a monopoly of particular interpretations.

There are following issues in the deconstruction. When a linear relationship between the text of commentary has been disconnected, then how certain patterns of relationships between them can arise. In another formulation, if there is no such linear relationship, then how might appear a certain interpretation. Whether their appearance are random and arbitrary?

In Mannheimian insight, then the answer is that emergence of a thing more be determined by sociological factors. If so, then there is correlation between interpretation of certain texts in social situations in which it appeared. In the formulation of *ushul fiqh*, it can be said that an interpretation related to certain sociological things '*asbabul wurud*'. Therefore sociological context is always changing, then its interpretation is also always open to be "reviewed" again. Development of *ipso facto* social context "dismantle" existence of interpretation in there. in the Habermas's word, changing social context would make existing interpretations have legitimation crisis undergo process of "delegitimation." Because, in, *Ushul fiqh*'s terminology, not yet "*ma yaduru alhukmu 'al' illati wujuudan wa'adaman*"-that a law is correlated with legislators ration (its '*illat*'), both positif or negative.

If an interpretation correlated with sociological context, then it is really "paradigmatic"; in the sense that the interpretations related to, and, at the same time, encouraged by "social paradigm" developed in certain periods. Paradigm, as conceived by Kuhn, is the complex of meaning values, aspirations, expectations, systems of thinking, norms, perspectives held by particular communities at a time. In a broader sense, the paradigm can be aligned with the Weber's more sociological "webs of significance", or Berger's "structure of plausibility", or also Geertz's "the real world". As a result, the paradigms are images of a "world view" (*Weltanschauung*) enabling a society to see problems in the world based on specific frameworks. In this regard, a text (a verse or *hadith*), will not read

anything if there is no particular paradigm. Under the paradigm, an interpretation of certain texts is possible.

Viewed in this paradigm, then actual texts do not read anything without a man who able to "ring them" (through certain chosen "paradigm"). Thus, the important thing is people, not the texts. For, without humans, the texts will not have meaning. However, humans are also unable to do anything about it, if they do not have a "reservoir of knowledge", which less than a world view. Because, in fact, human beings, in constructing of reality (including, of course, reality of the texts), relies heavily on their belonging. Since paradigm is socially constructed, then an interpretation is also "constructed socially" in itself, it enforced base on certain social relations.

As we saw earlier, paradigm is always developing. The developments, more or less, is "broken" (discontinuously). The development of a paradigm characterized by what Bachelard called as "paradigm break". This can be seen at this time. Today's growing social paradigm is "anthropocentrism" (although it should not be forgotten, that toward this paradigm, currently, emerged scathing criticism), the view of man as a "center" of everything. In this context, man considered to be fully autonomous. This, for example, is totally different from situation in the Middle Ages, in which the dominant paradigm is "theocentrism", namely an understanding of God as the center of everything. Anthropocentric paradigm has dominated most of cultural "environment" on the earth. Social development today, for the most part, proceed from, and relied on

the paradigm. When a man freed from confines of traditional religion centered on God, then they have "freedom" to "construct" meanings or philosophies of life based on their pure faith.

That's where various non-simetricity occurrence between interpretations of religious heritage centuries ago and the current social developments. This is understandable, because the interpretations, for the most part, produced under influences of medieval paradigms that tend to theocentric. If religion is going to stand and to survive, it have to "re-interpret" the texts under scrutiny on the new paradigm, ie; anthropocentric paradigm. Appearances of the latter paradigm are in fact also announce the starting of an early "decontruction" era of religious heritages.

When a man becomes "center", then the concept of "truth" (truth) is also changed. Not as long as this is understood, the truth is not really has "single" face. Because, man is the "center" of interpretation, while the man is not same in their "reserve of knowledge", thus, consequently, the interpretation becomes diverse. Diversity itself is basis of the fact that the "truth" is not singular. The understanding of single truth, actually relates to assumptions of existence of the I-Trancendent, who knows everything about the text, so that, it produced interpretations have "sole authority" over the truth. When the I-Tracendent (be deconstructed through the concept of, to borrow Arkoun's words, - "historicity of the logos" (*tarikhiyyatul `aql*), and, thus, also means the "historicity of interpretation"), the sole authority lost its "carrying capacity". There comes alternative of "plurality of interpretations". In that context of plurality, hegemony

of interpretation can be undermined, and the text becomes "realive" and is open to all interpretations. With collapse of the "hegemony", there is also collapse of "text feudalism" marked the beginning of thought rigidity during the time. That's where revealed the possibility to perform discourse on the sacred text in democratic manners.

Is not that way, we become more religious-or at least a little dynamic, democratic and promising?

The Medina State: Reinterpretation and Deconstruction

Borrowing the theoretical approach described above, then we would like to review the Medina state with reinterpretation and deconstruction within limits of our ability and episthemology.

As has been written in the Holy Quran and the Hadith, in Islam since the Medina State periods, freedom of thought, political and civil liberties and also religious freedom was fully guaranteed. Even, the Prophet Muhammad implemented the principles of religious freedom, tolerance and social coexistence according to Islamic teachings. Medina is a historical fact of realization of freedom of thought, freedom of religion and religious tolerance in Islam. According to Professor Hamidullah, there is no other evidence showing the most important principle of freedom in Islam, other than the Medina Charter. The Medina Constitution, particularly

asserts, "for Muslim, the Muslim religion; for Jewish, the Jewish religion; and there were virtue and justice."¹¹

Medina society in the era of the prophet Muhammad, to borrow Robert N Bellah's findings, was implementing principles of egalitarian society, justice, participation and deliberation. Bellah even identify the Rasululah system of the Medina state, which was later developed by his successor caliphs is very modern for standards of the time. The practices of Medina state called modern state because of commitment, involvement and participation of the entire Medina's political communities. It was also developing modern political structure, characterized by openness in terms of positioning its leadership based on the principles of meritocracy and non-hereditary, thus it reflecting the democratic life. Arab societies under Rasululah make the leap far ahead (a remarkable leap forward) in the complexity of social and political capacities, from Jahiliah (pagan ignorance) community to Madaniyah (Islamic civilized) community, with a better model for development of modern national societies which have been imagined, with an order of modern society appreciating plurality.¹²

In other words, Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) introduced political and social system, whose qualities and characters of

11 Please see, Muhammad Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam* (London: IIPSO, 1970), p 172 as been cited by Haji Faisal Haji Othman, "Freedom of Thought and Religious Freedom in Islam," *Mizan Magazine*, Vol.111 No.2 1990.

12 Please see, Robert N Bellah, "Islamic Traditions and Problems of Modernization", in Robert N Bellah, *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 150-151. Please check, Nurcholish Madjid, "Urbanism in Islam and Indo-nesian Indigenous Entrepreneurship", *Mizan Magazine*, Vol. I I No.2, 1990.

urban modernity, like social openness, participation all communities, egalitarian spirit and universal meritocratic orientation of his leadership system:

...There is no question but under Muhammad Arabian society made a remarkable leap forward in social complexity and political capacity. When the structure that took shape under the prophet was extended by the early caliphs to provide the organizing principle for a world empire, the result is something that for its time and place is remarkably modern. It is modern in the high degree of commitment, involvement and participation expected from the rank and life members of the community. It is modern in the openness of its leadership positions to ability judged on universalistic grounds and symbolized in the attempt to institutionalize a nonhereditary to leadership. Even in the earliest times certain restraints operated to keep the community from wholly exemplifying these principles, but it did so closely enough to provide a better model for modern national community building than might be imagined.¹³

Unfortunately, the Medina state system built by Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) only lasted no more than a quarter of century, and then retreated back into the system of pre-Islamic Arabs, because of social and political infrastructure of the Medina state was not enough to sustain and enforce the new system, with its new spirit. Limited resources made the development of democracy fails to be maintained. However, the modern form of Medina state can be seen as comparable to democratic political life in

¹³. See Robert N Bellah, *Beyond Belief*. See also Bahtiar Effendy, "Demokrasi dan Agama, Eksistensi Agama dalam Politik Indonesia", in M Deden Ridwan and Asep Gunawan (Eds.), *Demokratisasi Kekuasaan* (Jakarta: LSAF and Asia Foundation, 1999).

modern times. So modern that so deep an impression on minds and hearts of Muslims to look to the past in the glory days of Islam as endless reference and imagination, especially in the times of ummah facing oppression, sense of injustice, and very great suffered crisis.

Even in the early 20th century, Indonesia's Islamic militants and leading intellectuals in the colonial era, HOS Tjokroaminoto, founder of Sarikat Islam, revealed that the Medina State is a government organization ostensibly based on democracy, consisted of plural and plural society, Islamic people (ummah), Jews and Christians lived together under the Medina Constitution:

Setelah Republik Islam didirikan di Medinah, maka Nabi Muhammad SAW memberi kepada orang-orang Yahudi segala hak penduduk dan kebebasan akan mendjalankan agamanya. Nabi kita jang sutji bukan sadja menampak sebagai seorang djuru mengadjar, tetapi didalam fahamnja tentang hak-hak penduduk dan hak-hak ra'jat jang satu terhadap kepada jang lainnja. Nabi kita jang sutji pun njatalah berdiri djuga didalam zamannja dan djuga di dalam segala abad jang sudah liwat dan jang kan datang.

(After the Islamic Republic was established in Medina, the Prophet Muhammad gave the Jews all civil rights and freedoms to carry their religion. Our holy prophet not only as a teacher, but also he was thinking about civil and people's rights each other. The our holy prophet who was actually also stand in its era and in all past and future centuries, and which it came.)¹⁴

It is not surprising that Tjokroaminoto's influence among young people and activists at the time were so great, because of his

¹⁴. HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme* (Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1951), p.70

relatively deep knowledge and understanding of Islam, so that he become reference to his followers (who later became leaders and have different ideologies), as Sukarno, SM Kartosoewirjo, Muso, and so on, other leave behind historical trail in our country. Tjokroaminoto see Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) era as golden age and provide proof of how Islam brought modernity in the Medina and ensured pluralism and tolerance.

However, we must honestly admit, Rasulullah SAW (the prophet Muhammad)'s civilization and cultural achievements era had indeed decreased after the period of the Caliph Umar Bin Khattab. This history seemed inevitable, so that, when later it upheld in the Cordova Islam in Spain by Ummayah Caliphate at the time of the Abbasid era, as the Medina State in the real world (Europe) like a fairy tale. Indeed, the post-Caliphate period, in relation to tolerance and pluralism in modern sense, that tolerance and pluralism were new thing for all religions. Both are modern values and part of challenges of modernity. According to Nurcholish Madjid, to date, no Muslim nation, perhaps except Turkey, that has social and political system undergoing modernization as a whole.

This means that Muslims have never experienced realization of tolerance and pluralism ideas, as understood and applied in modern Western nations into reality. We have to remember this fact as well, because as argued by Bernard Lewis:

For Christians and Muslims, tolerance is a new virtue and value, while intolerance is a new crime. In most of history of the both communities, tolerance is not seen as valuable thing, and intolerance is not condemned. Until

relatively modern times, Christian Europe themselves also did not appreciate or practice tolerance, and they also did not criticize its absence in other places. Allegations that are often addressed to Islam are not that its teachings imposed by force, something seen as normal and natural thing, but that the teachings are false. Similarly, in Muslims: claims for tolerance, which is now being heard from Muslim apologists and more especially, -defenders of Islamapologists, is always a new thing.¹⁵

However, the events showing too much tolerance of Islam and widely known and recognized. Muslim in the Spanish case is relevant and very interesting to be mentioned here. According to Max I. Dimont, a scholar on history of Jewish people, referred by Nurcholish Madjid:

Arab conquest to Spain in 711 put an end to convert of Jews to Christianity by force, which had started by the King Reccared in the sixth century. Under Muslim rule as long as five hundred years after that, came the Spanish for 'three religions and one bedroom'. 'Muslims, Christians and Jews enjoyed with a brilliant civilization, the mix more influencing of "blood line" rather than religious affiliation.¹⁶

Bernard Lewis found that the closer community of Islam to Islamic centers in the Near East, the more tolerant their attitudes towards people of other faiths. The exception is the Muslims in Spain (which is one of the most distant regions from the heart of Islamic world but was very tolerant) and Hijaz (ie; the heart of the Islamic

¹⁵. Nurcholish Madjid, "Mencari Akar-Akar Islam bagi Pluralisme Modern Pengalaman Indonesia," in Mark R Woodward (Ed.) tr. Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, *Jalan Baru Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1998).

¹⁶. Max I. Dimont, cited by Nurcholish Madjid, "Mencari Akar-Akar Islam bagi Pluralisme Modern Pengalaman Indonesia"

world itself, but no other religion allowed to live in there). Lewis also suggests that the early Muslims tend to be more tolerant than the more recent Muslims:

In the early days, a lot of social interaction took place smoothly between Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Although they have different religion, they form a single society in which interpersonal friendship, partnership in business, teacher-student relationship in life of sciences, and other forms of joint activities took place normally and even very common. Cultural cooperations were evident in many ways. For example, we have biographical dictionary showing prominent doctors. Although written by Muslims, this work include name doctors of Muslim, Christians, and Jews once without discrimination. From the the large quantity of the biographies, we can even collects sort of prosopografi about medical profession-to trace lifeline of several hundred practical physicians in the Islamic world. From these sources we get very clear impression of joint efforts. In hospitals or in private practice places, doctors come from the above three religions working together as partners or assistants, read written work of others mutually, and accept each other as students and teachers. There is not found types of separation commonly found in Western Christendom at the time or in the Islamic world in the recent times.¹⁷

What made Lewis's become parallel with the records of the Muslim kingdom in Spain under the reign of Sultan Abdul Rachman, as expressed by a French intellectual, Ernest Renan, who wrote his book "*Averroes Eil 'averroisine*". Renan declared that Cordova Islam in Spain was a civilized modern country and maintain plurality, as practiced in the Medina State. At that time, Muslims,

¹⁷. See, Bernard Lewis, as been cited by Nurcholish Madjid. As a comparison, see HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Jakarta, Bulan-Bintang, 1951), p.65-66.

Jews and Christians under Islam were able to build cooperation, tolerance and plurality utilised to enrich development of science and civilization. Renan wrote the story, this is his point about it:

Satu tanda bukti buat ilmu pengetahuan dan segala barang jang indah dan telah kedjadian di dalam abad ke 10 sesudahnja Christus, didalam pendjuru dunia jang berbahagia ini, njatalah zaman kita jang baru ini tak bisa menundjukkan satu tjontoh jang lainnja. Orang Christen, orangJahudi, orang Islam memakai bahasa satu rupa, menjanjikan sjair jang sama, dan merasakan isinja buku-buku batjaan jang satu rupa dan pengadjaran-pengadjaran 'ilmu jang satu rupa djuga. Segala rintangan jang memisah-misahkan orang sama orang djatuhlah sudah, sekalian orang bekerdja bersama-sama dengan satu hati untuk kema-djuannja keadaban bersama. Mesdjid-mesdjid di Cordoba, jang me-ngumpulkan beribu orang terpeladjar, telah mendjadi tempat-tempat pusatnja peladjaran "ilmu pengetahuan dan peladjaran filosofie.

(A proof for science and all beautiful things and happened in the 10th century and after Christus, in the happy in the happy world angle, it is real that our current time unable to show other examples. Christian, Jews, Muslims used one way of language, which promising similar lyrics sjair same, and felt books with similar contents, and one way of science as well. All barriers dividing the same people falled already, the all people had been working together with one heart for civilizational advance together. Mosques in Cordoba gathering thousands of educated people, have become places where it had been lesson center of "knowledge and philosophy).¹⁸

Furthermore, Dr. Nishi Kanta Chattopadhaya, as referenced by HOS Tjokroaminoto, noted that cooperation in various fields of science among Muslims, Jews and Christians had in such a develop-

¹⁸ HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, p. 65-66.

ment, including women. They built factories, irrigation, education, medicine, agriculture, architecture, art and culture to enhance human dignity, even in equal cooperation in facing of war, and keeping of peace.

Oleh karena, maka keadaan jang tinggi tingkatnja di dalam segala tjabang fikiran dan perbuatan manusia, sekarang mulai berkembanglah di Cordoba, ibu kotanja Andaluzie, sebagai djarang sekali kedapatan sebelum atau semenjak riwajat dunia.

(Therefore, the circumstances in which has high level in all branches of human thought and deed, now come further in Cordoba, the capital of Andalusia, as seldom before or since once caught the tale of the world.)

Stanley Lane Poole menyatakan lebih terang lagi, kurang-lebih beginilah katanja:

(Stanley Lane Poole said more clearly, this is pretty much his saying:)

Kira-kira delapan abad lamanja di bawah pemerintahan Islam, maka Spanje menundjukkan kepada segenap Europa satu tjontohja keradjaan jang sofan dan bagus pengaturannja. Provincie-provin-cienya mendjadi lebih makmur berlipat dua kali lantaran dari kepan-daiannja orang-orang jang menaklukkannja, jang pandai tentang urusan kefabriekan dan perkara machine, mengeluarkan hatsil seratus kali ganda besarnja. Ta' boleh dibilang banjaknja kota-kota jang terdiri di dalam djurangnja sungai Guadalquivier dan sungai Gua-diana jang kaya itu, jang namanja masih memperingatkan tjahajanja jang sudah lalu. Batjaan kitab-kitab dan ilmu pengetahuan berkembanglah sebagai pada ketika itu tidak ada kedjadian dilain-lain tempat di Europa. Murid-murid sekolah tinggi datanglah berkumpul dari Frankrijk, Duitschland dan Engeland akan meminum dari pantjuran pnggetahuan, jang hanja mengalir di kota-kotanja orang bangsa Moor itu. Tabib-tabib dan Doctor-doctor dari Andaluzie ada mendjadi pengadjurnja ilmu pengetahuan, orang-orang perempuan dibanngunkan hatinja menuntut pengadjaran dengan sungguh-sungguh, dan di antara anak-anak gadis di Cordova adalah jang

mendapat gelaran Doctor. 'Ilmu hisab, 'ilmi falak dan 'ilmu tanam-tanaman, tarich filosofie dan 'ilmu hukum adalah tinggi deradjatnja di Spanje dan di Spanje itulah sadja. Pekerdjaan berladang, peraturan irigatie jang berdasar 'ilmu pengetahuan, pekerdjaan membuat benteng dan kapal, pekerdjaan pertukangan dan anjam-menganjam sangatlah indah dan hasilnja didalam tangannja orang-orang bangsa Moor. Mereka itu pun sangat tinggi deradjatnja di dalam peperangan, tidak kurang tinggi djuga ketjakapannja membuat perdamaian.

(About eight centuries under the Islamic rulo, so Spain showed to the entire Europe an example of civilized and well managed monarchy. Its provinces become twice more prosperous as cleverness of its conquerer people, who capable on fabric and machine (production) matters, produced hmany cities around the deep and rich of the river of Guadalquivier and the river of Guadiana, their name remind their past light. Readings materials of scientific books were developing as there was no in other part of Europe. High school students come and gathered from Frankrijk, Duitschland and Engeland, they would drink from the source of knowledge that only flow in the cities of the Moor nation. There are Medicians and Doctors from Andaluzie become the teachers of knowledge, women wake up their heart to learn seriously, and among girls in Cordova there were who got Doctor degree. 'hisab (computation) science, 'falak (astronomy) and 'agriculture, history of philosophy and 'law study had have high degree in the Spain and only in the Spain. Farming, irrigation management based on science, creating of fortress and ship, handicraft were beautiful and their results on the hands of the Moor. They also had have high degree in wars, no less than their skills on peace making)".¹⁹

Tjokroaminoto then cited Stanley Lane Pool, an author, to strengthen his arguments and believes on the glory of Cordova

¹⁹ HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, p. 65-66.

Islam in Spain. Stanley Lane Pool revealed the whole story with words that their mean more or less as follows:

Segala apa sadja jang membesarkan dan membahagiakan satu Keradja-an, segala apa sadja jang mendjernihkan dan mensofankan, adalah terdapat di dalam negeri Spanje jang diperintahkan oleh orang Muslim itu.

(All of things that magnify and bring happiness a kingdom, everything purify and respect, containing in the Spain ordered by the Muslim.)²⁰

Tjokroaminoto noted that Cordova Islam is a democratic and socialistic country, as it ordered by Islamic values.

What we pointed out in this monograph showing how in the past and in the Islamic State of Medina have been copied by the Cordova Spain that could be referred as historical facts of Muslim civilization and culture in building the world.

Elaboration and Cooperation

Elaboration of Islamic concepts on social justice, some have done by the Prophet Muhammad through the writing and the actualization of the Medina Constitution directly led by the Prophet Muhammad himself. In the Medina Constitution, which had been made shortly after Rasulullah migrated from Mecca to Medina, containing provisions and procedures of fair exchange system. In the Medina Constitution, monopolistic practices of oppression and all kinds of deception in the process of exchange, as expressly forbidden actions. Borrowing Ozay Mehmet's phrase, it is absolute

²⁰ HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, p. 65-66.

obligation of the Islamic community to complement operational concepts of social justice in economic life pioneered in the Medina Constitution.

In the deconstruction way, substance of historical experience of the Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) era can be used as inspiration, be researched and be referenced for the context of contemporary Indonesia, which endured by horizontal conflicts in Ambon, Moluca, Mataram, racial riots in May 1998 and so on. As an illustration of tolerance and cooperation among ummah (people of religion) we are here want to disclose the substances of the relationship and cooperation, Prof. Dr Sritua Arief (Muslim intellectuals) who is familiar with frontman of Christianity, especially Catholicism and Protestant, cause Sritua knowing religious practices of the both groups.

These practices are similar to practices held by populist Islam. Sritua Arief's friends like Reverend Joseph Widyaatmaja , who led the Social Welfare Agency Network Foundation in Solo, Kudus, Purwo-dadi (and Surabaya, in collaboration with Petra Christian University and Reverend Th.Sumartana, who lead Dian Foundation (Dialog Antariman) in Yogyakarta, they frequently interact with Sritua Arief PhD. Kyai Mahfudz, leader of a boarding school, in Salatiga often visit and cooperate with pastor YB Mangunwijaya who live in the edge of Kali Code, Yogyakarta. He always tell about how Pastor Y.B. Mangunwijaya's thought is very similar to Kiai Mahfudz's idea of Islamic populism, pioneered collection and disbursement of zakat that during the time held by zakat

committees from among the people themselves by people control. He radically changed the system of collecting and distributing zakat, which has been authoritatively and not transparently done by Pak Kyai (pesantren leaders). Kyai Mahfudz change the system of zakat distribution not only for consumptive purposes but also for productive purposes.

Sritua Arief has familiar relationship with leaders of Atma Jaya University in Yogyakarta and often lectured to PMKRI members, this made himself knows a lot about social practices of Catholic new generations. Liberation theology in Latin America, whose many of its frontmans are my friends in college in the United States tell him how Ivan Illich's thought influence penetrated their hearts. Many pastors of orthodox Catholics in cooperation with parties that control *latifundia* (vast lands) oppressing poor peasants. Practices of Catholic teachings should be cleaned from practices as such.

Fronteds of liberation theology in Latin America has much to do in restructuring agricultural land ownership for benefits of poor farmers.²¹ In this context, it should be understood that Islam as a religion containing social thought, which views people as primary and fundamental factor in history of humanity. So, we would like to make a call or a serious call: let's leading denomination in Indonesia

²¹ Sritua Arief, "Agama dan Ekonomi Kerakyatan", *Republika Newspaper*, January 29, 2000. Prof Sritua Arief is visiting professor in Utara Malaysia University, Sintok, Kedah Darulaman, Malaysia and wrote a book (together with Adi Sasono) *Indonesia: Keterbelakangan dan Ketergantungan*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986).

(Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism, together with Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian) in cooperation and tolerance mutually, as well as leverage plurality to build the Indonesian nation after being ravaged by the New Order regime over the years.

If this is not done, and religious factions are still conservative, exclusive, sectarian and not progressive, so let us quote Bung Karno, who called them as *sontoloyo* (damn) Islamic groups as well as *sontoloyo* (damn) Catholics and Christians.²²

Still another example is what happened in Maluku in the midst of the current religious conflicts. What has been happened in neighborhoods around locations of the arena of "dispute" is mutual accost and neighbors in social interactions that are not concerned about differences of religion, ethnicity, or race, it is an amazing thing. Similar events such as in the Prophet Muhammad era, as the Kompas daily recently reported, in its concrete form made by the Khairul Ummah Boarding School in the Village of Kobisonta, District of Wahai, the North Seram, Central Maluku regency. The boarding School raised by KH Syah Roni, openly "saved" 800 non-Muslim refugees and protected them (conflict victims). The Kiai rejected military commander to secure his pesantren (Islamic boarding school). In this district, which until now has never been touched by the unrest storms. The sub-district has population of about 50,000 inhabitants live in peace, harmony in the order of association that is not sealed-bulkhead by ethnicity, religion, race or

²² About Islam, please see, Soekarno, *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi*, Part.1, 1963.

other differences. "The District of Wahai stays safe from unrests that can not be separated from the role of KH Syah Roni, who has always instill sense of solidarity to the people around," said Rulan Reklansi, one of pastor in the District of Wahai. Laying the first stone of the An Nur Mosque adjacent with the Silo Church, is another 'bright spot' in reconciliation of interfaith unrest.²³

Islam, according to Fazlur Rahman, is the first actual movement known in history, which put people seriously and meaningfully. This happened because in Islamic views, construction and development of life on earth are not only as futile efforts and compulsions, but also it is a task "involving" Allah and man together. As a religion appreciating of pluralism, Islam (and texts of Holy Quran and Hadith) gave historical facts about the Medina State era as reference, inspiration and value for mankind in building of a civilized and modern society.

Relevance of The Medina With Aspirations of Ummah (People) in The Reform Era: Reflection And Reinterpretation

The Medina state is a significant exemplar for the ummah and world society about how the prophet Muhammad provided answers to crucial issues involving the live of Muslims, Jews and Christians, both in religious and socio-cultural life. The related history, soon as he arrival in Madinah, after emigration from Makkah, the Prophet Muhammad made a political document. The

23 Ivan Al Hadar, "Berbeda Tanpa Konflik", *Kompas Newspaper*, March 1, 2000.

Medina document known as the "Medina Constitution", particularly containing assertions that all groups in Medina, including Jewish and Christian community, is a nation with the Muslims and that they have same obligations and rights with Muslim.²⁴

A new contextual, substantive and not merely legal-formal interpretation is necessary to analyze, study and take those good from the Medina State's experience as a source of inspiration, value and meaning for our lives today. Modernity not only developed in the 20th and 21st century, but also already in the Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) era, in which a modern state with the Medina Charter, could be guardian and be enforcer of values, norms and humanitarian spirits, faith, truth and tolerant knowledge, made the Medina become very large and influential region of civilization and culture in the world until the fall of the Caliphate in the early 20th century, following the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate.

Riots, ethno-nationalism, regionalism, violence and anarchism in Moluca, Nusa Tenggara, Aceh, Papua, Riau, Java, Borneo and so on, proved that the religious, social and economic conflicts, requiring reinterpretation of the discourse of the Medina State and its constitution as moral, ethic and cultural value inspiration for Indonesia in building of a fair, civilized, prosperous, strong, virtuous and dignified national society. It means that Republic of Indonesia constitution, regulations and existing laws (which smells colonialism), should be refined or amended in line with demands of the

²⁴ Montgomery Watt, *Muhammed at Madina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

times, to see the Medina state and its Protocol as exemplar on how to manage national life of the diverse and plural nation. In order to prevent recurring of violence, ethno-nationalism, and anarchism. Islamic norms and values have profound impacts on the Muslim communities, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and other Muslim communities beside the largest Indonesian Muslim organizations. In the reform era, we are trying to make new commentaries on the Medina state to be inspiration and reference sources of values for the Republic of Indonesia, which plagued by multi-dimensional crisis, without falling into formal-legal approach (Islamic formalism), but rather to substantial and fundamental thing for interests of our state and nation.

The reform has claimed many victims, raising much questions, problems and uncertainties. We know, at the university student's all out expense in the struggle to enforce the reform and democratization, in which dozens of students were killed and hundreds of students were injured, in the end, a new era called the reformation order happened, under KH Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership. Although Gus Dur's government legitimacy is relatively strong, but burdens of multi-dimensional crisis continued the legacy of the New Order and clung to be potential threats to his legitimacy as the reformist government was unable to overcome the serious crisis. Economic and monetary crisis is the heaviest burden, in addition to moral crisis. And Gus Dur was still in the learning process to be a president, that's a natural thing. So, criticism and social control from civil society against the Gus Dur government is

needed, given that there was no strong opposition parties in parliament for checks and balances. The absence of opposition party in the legislature, implied that Indonesian people have to learn again on how to aspire in the system of democracy, a sign of setback.²⁵

Gus Dur's leadership were expected by the ummah (people) providing clear signals for recovery and rescue the nation from the crisis. However, Gus Dur government have several weaknesses and strengths.²⁶

Gus Dur's 17 Weakness:

1. Selected by the fragmented power
- 2.Exceedingly accomodated any political interests
- 3.Did not disassociate the old regime
- 4.Bad track record in management and administration
- 5.Less manager below his zaken cabinet
- 6.Did not have proper human resources from his own circle
- 7.One man show and did not care about teamwork
- 8.His policy has no pattern
- 9.Frequently apart fairs personil without formal administration
- 10.Have no solid economic team
- 11.Made dangerous policies when the state was critical
- 12.Lack sense of crisis
- 13.Not yet aware that his words are state policy

²⁵ Nurcholish Madjid's lecture in memoriam of the Malari (January 15, 2000) held by Indonesian Democracy Monitor, In Demo, in Jakarta. See also, Arief Budiman, "Ditunggu Partai Oposisi", *Tempo Magazine*, January 16, 2000.

²⁶ "32 Karakter Gus Dur", *Rakyat Merdeka Newspaper*, January 25, 2000.

14. Less willing to hear people's opinions
15. Form a council that is not necessarily effective and controversial
16. Surrounded by people who do not clear their importance
17. Began to reign in the condition of the country do not have money

Gus Dur's 13 Strongness

1. Together with Megawati have personal charisma
2. Gained public legitimacy and democratically elected
3. Accommodated all groups through 'NU way'
4. He have strong Islamic base
5. There by reducing religious political chances from his competitors
6. Got international supports rapidly
7. Successfully consolidated and shifted the base of political supports
8. He was very populist, so enlighten the public
9. Capable of performing desecration of state
10. Able to overcome some serious problems with unconventional ways
11. Able to minimize oppositions
12. Attitude determination was not easily given up under any pressure
13. Providing security for minorities

The advantages and disadvantages are humane and relative. However, the serious problems were about 36 million unemployed people that threatens: made social explosion and rising prices of

goods and services increasingly difficult to reach by people. Not to mention plundered forests, sea-mine stolen and arbitrarily exploited mine, inflicted lost to the nation and state about trillion of rupiah.²⁷ As a result, aspirations of the ummah as if abandoned, neglected and impressed by a number of issues.

Aspirations of the Indonesian people in Islamic terminology called as aspirations of the ummah, while in terms of socialist and nationalist is so-called aspirations of the people. Actually they are substantively has no difference.

However political languages in the New Order regime era and the Reform Order era, splitting the word of "ummah" and people, thereby it so impressed Ummah for the Islamic community, while the word "people" more on the secular-pluralists. The people aspirations and expectations essentially are:

Firstly, Social & Economic Justice

Indonesia had suffered the worst economic crisis since the beginning of the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, which resulting never solved inequalization problems, both in the time of high economic growth,²⁸ and especially in the time of economic crisis began in June 1997. That means, all leaders from Sukarno to Suharto with their different ideology could not solve main problems in Indonesia. In fact, Suharto's leadership, with its economic deve-

²⁷ Sarbini Sumawinata, *Revolusi 1998* (Jakarta: Yayasan Kerakyatan, 1998). See, *Republika Newspaper* and *Kompas Newspaper*, February 23, 2000.

²⁸ H. W. Arndt, (ed), *Pembangunan dan Pernerataan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1983).

lopment touted slogan were very successful and he was appointed as the Father of Development, actually he was extremely corrupt and rotten. All of Indonesian people already know and feel the impact since mid-1997 to date, the government and people struggling with the economic crisis requiring clear thinking and understanding and realizing that overcoming of the economic crisis of the great nation with population of more than 200 million, is not an easy job. Economic factors are important for the nation and world community²⁹ in this era of science and technology as well as globalization. Economic factors are also important in our life.

There are predictions said that after 1998, Asian economies hitted by the crisis will recover, except the Indonesia economy. Indonesia's economic recovery is still filled with uncertainty. It was the opinion of an official of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) when commenting on a six monthly report, the IMF's World Economic Outlook. The economic reforms agreed with the IMF should be fully implemented to create a clean government to solve equity problems. There was six months period for the government to eradicate corruption, collusion and nepotism. If this is not done, the political and economic situation would worsen. In the six-monthly reports the IMF has a point. The report was issued in April 1998 and is expected to be made based on the material in October 1997. In that period, the IMF and the World Bank still thought that Indonesia had not run its agreement with the IMF for economic reforms.

²⁹ In 1967 Gunnar Myrdal wrote in three parts of his book entitle "Asian Dranui' An Inquiry into The Poverty of Nations.

Once an agreement with the IMF in 1997, South Korea, Thailand and Philippines immediately implement economic reforms in exchange for loans from the IMF. But Indonesia had started too late.³⁰

The world should see that Indonesia's economic reform began in November 1997, when Indonesia asked the IMF, and the IMF agreed with rescue loans and its all terms of reform. However, then it held out until mid-January 1998, which then known as the economic reform of 50 articles. Because there are still obstacles yet, this agreement was being renegotiated and a new final agreement announced on 11 April 1998. Because it is not surprising that there was an argument that the Asian economy would recover in 1999, except Indonesia.

At the time of announcement of the IMF report, the Indonesian government had said that they will earnestly implement economic reforms, according to their agreement with the IMF to its details. But it have to be admitted that Indonesia suffered the most severe economic crisis. And this was coupled with internal barriers made the reforms started late. The reforms would take longer, so that any recovery from the crisis took the longest. There are estimates that if the economic reform gone well, the Indonesia economy would be recovered in two-three years. But if it was blocked and deflected, it could take 10 years. Therefore, to be expected, in 2000, South Korea, Thailand, Philippines plus Malaysia (which do not ask

³⁰ Tarmizi Taher, "Krisis Keluarga dan Reformasi Agama", *Kompas Newspaper*, May 18, 1998.

for IMF assistances) have been recovered from the crisis and their people have restarted to enjoy prosperity and development results.

Indonesia was the nation remaining to be concerned and tighten their belts, because Indonesia's economy is still recovering. The Government continued to allow ongoing diversion of corruption and collusion in the process of implementing economic reforms. The New Order government do not have certain characters, especially if be viewed from Islamic perspectives.³¹ Because people are not only worried about the reform unfollowed consistently, deflected or blocked, due to the fact that there are interest groups who will not let their interests be harmed. The people are also concerned about whether the reform will be successful and the economy will recover, if corruption and collusion allowed to continue. Or should they forced to accept it as given thing. The course of reform will last longer, so that the economic recovery will become longer aswell, because they tolerate continuesly and unable to handle the problems of corruption and collusion.

If we see to the details of the economic reforms, including abolition of monopolies, cartels, various charges in local area, inclusion of funds outside of the National Budget to the Budget, and so on, then this is all meant to create systems, which particularly aims to prevent corruption and collusion. And perhaps this is the answer to the government if there are questions about corruption and

³¹ About the view of Islam toward leaders, please see Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, *Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara dan Akhlak Pemimpin* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Rahayu, 1954). In addition, please see also Ibn Taimiyah, *Siyasah Syariah*, (tr.) (Surabaya: Risalah Gusti, 1995).

collusion. But in the nation life, to build systems in the New Order government could make the corruption and collusion going on and even more rampant. Therefore, there is a byword: rules are made not only to be broken, but also can be used as a source of income.

Indonesian people do not know whether the reformation, corruption and collusion still be regarded as a "lubricant" to speed up, such as assumptions that they be used to be "lubricant" to accelerate development. The nation does not know whether it is in the crisis and difficult situation, the government has a strong political will and decisive use of economic reforms to address the issues of corruption and collusion, specially by its own actions. Because, there is evidence that most people suffering from the economic crisis and requested to further tight their belts and accept the bitterness again, but there is people who don't care. Corruption and collusion did not stop when there was economic crisis. For example: In the midst of the ongoing economic crisis there was still a manager at a company called and asked to provide special brand car as a gift. An hour later someone called back that him, his wife and his three children to year-end holidays to Australia. The managers were asked to care. It means that he must provide round trip airfare for five people, hotel expenses and funds for shopping.

Indonesian public do not agree that corruption and collusion was once a "lubricant" to accelerate the development and now it is the "lubricant" to accelerate economic reform and recovery. Without requirement to clarify, the corruption and collusion harms the people. If there is no corruption and collusion, the Indonesian

people must be more prosperous than now, and do not have to suffer because they trapped in the economic crisis. Actually, the reform packages already containing good elements, but the issue is, how to implement them? On the one hand, the memorandum have to develop new expectations on the recovery of Indonesia economy.³² However, on the other hand, it also raises the question: why there should be no further episode of negotiations with the IMF? If the government run the terms strictly discipline, perhaps renegotiation is no longer needed. Economic reforms certainly can not satisfy everyone. Certain parties who had previously benefited, ie, the monopolist and the monopsonist, presently no longer able to enjoy it. Indonesian nation hopes that the negotiation is the last chance. It means that there will be no renegotiation between the Indonesian Government with the IMF. The implication is, no possible compromise for certain parties who still want to try to annul the reforms, to take advantage of the slightest window of opportunity, to extend their status quo.

Market reactions to the memorandum were apparently positive. The rupiah started to strengthen. But the memorandum will only be artificially limited, if not followed by implementation of the implementation episode seriously and consistently. If positive response of market has begun to appear, do not be quickly satisfied and confident. To which will the exchange rate lead to a positive response? Is it possible to penetrate to below IDR 7,000 per dollar?

³² A Tony Prasetyantono, "Episode Implementasi," *Kompas Newspaper*, April 18, 1998.

Or even more powerful? It could be that a balance can be achieved only for a moment. the IMF's "Additional Memorandum" should not be regarded as a panacea, which will instantly reverse the situation. The agreement's terms are packages of structural reform. This means that Indonesia's economic structure will change gradually, not immediately. The structural thing, such as eliminating monopoly, or removing rent seeking behavior (the behavior of bureaucrats who seek economic rents from office). These changes are necessary to improve economic efficiency, as well as to increase confidence in the building of the national economy. If people trust can be formed again, so investors would be no longer shy and hesitant to invest in Indonesia.

When deficit of the Indonesian current account began to increase in 1995, it was still able to "entertain itself" by foreign capital inflow. On September 1996, when the IMF's Executive Director, Michel Camdessus, was visiting Indonesia, the deficit also continued to increase, despite the financial crisis yet to explode. Camdessus also suggested, that Indonesia very clever to resist as long as possible short-term capitals are rolling in. The condition is, Indonesia's investment climate should be conducive. That means, all distortions are be eliminated and business discriminations (monopoly, monopsony, special facilities) are removed. Through the reform of the IMF now here, is expected to emerge new hopes to more conducive business climate. If these requirements are met, then foreign capital would flow in, both short term (portfolio) and long term (direct investment).

Economic actors have to wait for the government to implement the memorandum. Therefore, economic agents expect that this time the government no longer waste the momentum. Do not get off again, such as the loss of the momentum letter of intent caused of policy inconsistencies, for example, about the national car, the existence of BPPC, and plywood trade system. Economic reforms may be likened as a foundation plant, which can enforce the structure for long term. While, short-term issue to address, in fact, can not be addressed directly with "mere" the IMF memorandum. Short-term problem basically lies in two things. First, scarcity of foreign kept depressed exchange reserves. Second, private foreign debts were falling due. To the first issue, there is only one solution, namely the IMF's disbursements in significant numbers, and at accelerating pace. Required fundings are on the IMF, even if there are some of bilateral aid schemes, but they were practically become multilateral umbrella of the IMF, because they are the 181 IMF member countries. Thus, the IMF this time was in the position of lender of last resort, as a source of foreign exchange supply.

What have to be remembered also is that the key to the success of Mexico to recover its collapse economy in 1995, is located on attentiveness of the IMF to disburse its funds. In that case, the role of the U.S.'s lobbies were very important. Without the Americans, certainly the IMF would not disburse the aids to record 40 billion dollars. So, all surprised at the doubt statement of Hubert Neiss, "second term" of the IMF's disbursement schedule to record three billion U.S. dollars. The slower the IMF funds, the slower also

the ability to restore the rupiah exchange rate. The Indonesian nation certainly do not want about disbursement of the funds and implementation of the reforms to be like eggs and chicken. The Indonesian government have to immediately reform. Coordinating Minister of Economy is in such good will expressed enthusiasm. While, on the other hand, it is task of the IMF to carry out its duties as soon as possible to disburse the funds!

In the meantime, about handlings of private debt, how might the IMF as if feel give up? Everyone must indignant and blamed the debtors, or private businessmen that have been inconsequentially obtaining debt. However, that do not mean that the IMF feels not have to go handle it. Do not forget, when the debt crisis exploded in LatinAmerica (1984), America's top economists like Anne O. Krueger, Robert Heller and Charles Kindleberger, claimed that multilateral institutions like the World Bank and the IMF, clearly guilty of taking part. Because they who given recommendations on bright prospects for Latin America, so credits from syndicate of international banks had disbursed.

In the case of Indonesia's, foreign debts for private sectors have been able to flow rapidly, because, particularly recommendation support of the World Bank, the IMF, or the ADB (Asian Development Bank). The World Bank's President, James Wohlfenson, had even admitted that it was wrong (over-estimate) in predictiong the Indonesia economy. On September 1993, they even

had time to put Indonesia as one of the eight countries of East Asia "miracle".³³

In conclusion, it should not be quickly satisfied with the IMF. There are at least three things have to be done immediately. First, the government should implement the deal, at all cost. Second, the IMF should immediately withdraw the funds, no longer continue to procrastinate. Indonesia should get be treated like Mexico in 1995. Third, the IMF also have to help settlements of private debts, through a strong lobby to its international creditors. Only through loosening of debt repayment scheme (rollover, rescheduling), which will make employers possible to attract extra breath. The debt crisis rescue scheme, according to the two former American minister, James Baker and Nicholas Brady (1985), basically also refers to granting of concessions to the debtors, to carry out amortization. Without those urgent things, all doubts about effectiveness of the IMF memorandum, primarily to reduce short-term volatility, actually has turned out to be very prolonged.

Secondly, The Growth of Democracy

The reformation lead to more limited changes in terms of coverage and moderate in leadership rate, policy, and political institutions. So, the reformation is different from revolution, which connotes a fundamental change in all components of political

³³ John Page, *The East Asian Miracle* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

system.³⁴ According to Huntington, reformation also means changes that lead to political, social, and more evenly economic development equality, including expansion of political participation bases. Agents of reformation stands out among revolutionaries and conservatives. When the revolutionaries are targeting expansion of political participation bases that will be used to promote socioeconomic changes, the conservatives on the contrary: against it. In reaching their respective objectives, the former tend to use violence, while the latter tend to use ways of manipulation, engineering, and sometimes violence.

Agents of reformation should be able to balance the two objectives, they should be able to balance changes in socio-economic structure to changes in political institutions, in a way in which the both can be controlled. That means, through gradual reform and change through peaceful means, not through violence. In carrying out the reforms that need to be considered is performance of the ongoing political system. It includes a map of political forces supporting the reform, cohesion forces supporting the status quo, balance of power between the both parties, and the strategy chosen by the each supporter.

Reformation is negotiation among political powers. If it is being understood in the such a context, it is not need any doubt to commitments of Indonesian university students in the struggle of demanding total reforms in political, economic, and legal sectors.

³⁴ Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 198.

The total reform heavily demanded by students from different campuses is have a strong foundation, as it voiced at the time of the Indonesian nation was hit by a fundamental crisis, not only economic or political crisis, but also mainly a crisis of legitimacy. Sense of crisis on fundamental issues that are then encouraged the emergence of a sense of urgency among the students about the need for realignment or a comprehensive reform including economic, political, and legal sectors as well. Because political reforms that successfully brought democratization of politics, by itself would contribute to process of economic democratization. Without political democratization, economic democratization does not happen, whose mean that there is no control over practices of monopolies, oligopolies, corruption, and collusion.

Though the practices that have undermined basis of the national economy, making it vulnerable to market fluctuations that can lead to the economic crisis, as happened today. Similarly, without political democratization, the principle of rule of law is difficult to realize. Since justice institutions that autonomous, authoritative, and able to apply the principle of rule of law can only be achieved if there is political democratization. Consistency and commitment to apply the principle of rule of law by itself will accelerate process of formation of clean government and good governance.

Through various demonstrations and free speech, students from various campuses in Indonesia has been voiced in clear and decisive steps toward reforms those need to be done. In the political

field, for example, students demanded reforms including repeal or alteration of a number of laws that govern structures, functions, mechanisms, and political practices over the years. Legal products, particularly, including a number of MPR provisions (TAP MPR), and political legislation package (Acts) made in 1985.

Various other demands also put forward, such as presidential term limits, setting of criteria and mechanisms of succession at regular intervals, reviewing of the ABRI (military) doctrine of dual function, to demands for clean government from practices 'KKN' (corruption, collusion and nepotism). Some of TAP MPR proposed to be revised, including the TAP MPR No. 1/1997 on the MPR (Assembly) Rules, the TAP MPR No. 11/1973 on Procedures for Presidential Election, the TAP MPR No. 111/1978 concerning Status and Working Arrangement Relations of Top State Institutions with/or State Agency. While, a package of political law in 1985 was proposed to amend the Law No. 1/1985 on elections, the Law No. 2/1985 on structure and position of the MPR and the DPR, and the Law No. 3/1985 on political parties and golongan karya. Various TAP MPR and the package of Political Law was assessed has weakened political parties and mass organizations as container and channel of political participation, weakens position of the MPR and the DPR, resulting in an unautonomous and biased party system, an uncompetitive electoral system. Various laws were also judged to have strengthening the centralization of power on one hand, these have lead to personal rulership, which in itself let extinguishing public mechanism and control functions. Various laws were judged

to have produced a political format that monolithic, closed, restricted people political participation, beyond reach of popular control, immune to laws, and thus, all of the factors and the political format are not democratic.

In that context, the students demanded political reform, which its estuary is democratization. Discussion of this issue would have a new meaning, when it first described about the New Order political system that has lasted 30 years: the basic assumptions adopted, the basis of legitimacy, the structure and mechanism, the main actors, and the performance of the political system itself.

The New Order political system that took place since 1967 has built and developed based on a number of basic assumptions underlying motion of dynamics and overall performance to date. The first basic assumption is a need to create and maintain political stability as a prerequisite for economic development. To achieve it, then it has to takes a realignment of previous political structures and mechanisms. The structuring measures that would later become the foundation as well as forming the character of the New Order political system, for the first time formulated in 1967 by what was then known as the "1967 National Consensus".

Actually, some of basic ideas contained in the consensus are continuation of points of thought developed in the TNI- Army Second Seminar in 1966. Contents of the national consensus as a result of an "agreement" among leaders of political parties and Golkar then passed through the decision of DPRDGR leaders in December 16, 1967, including: (1) The members of the MPR/DPR

appointed in addition to members elected by popular vote, (2) The requirement of domicile was eliminated, those appointed are military representatives and non-military, non-military have to be non-mass, (3) the amount raised for the MPR is the third of all members, (4) the number of parliament (DPR) members set 460, consisting of 360 members elected through elections, and 100 members appointed, (5) A simple electoral system of proportional representation.

From the above points, there are two main things that later coloring and even becoming characteristic of the New Order's political system as an undemocratic political system. Firstly, enactment of half-representation system, in which amount and composition of membership of the House in addition to specified by election results, is also determined by the system of appointment. Secondly, authorization and institutionalization of social-political role (dual-function) of Armed Forces.

At that time, the given reason to justify the half-representation system with appointment of members of the House of Representatives, including the appointment of representatives of the Armed Forces (TNI) is to "save the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution". The consensus made with a reason to "save the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution" was relevant to the situation at that time, transition from the Old Order to the New Order, which still seized with trauma of the national disaster events of G-30S in 1965. The trauma and series of political conflicts triggered by competition among political parties in previous years, it has made the most of Indonesian people have come to feel dislike political parties, as well as

crave a new political system that stable and no longer dominated by political parties.

So, by using of the psychological momentum, immediately after gained the initial legitimacy through Golkar's landslide victory as a political instrument in the 1971 elections, the New Order government had began series of efforts to shrink the number and to minimize the role of political parties, as well as to limit people political participation.

In line with the decline role of political parties and the limited space of political participation, and as a result of intensive undertaken efforts of depoliticization; definition of politic in the New Order era have changing meaning, be reduced to become something of technical-administrative. This means that politics no longer understood as dynamic action and interaction in a political society (polity), but as obedience to all strictly implemented political regulations through a rigorous approach to security. In concrete term, the reduction of political meaning into something that is technical-administrative, can be seen for example in arts activities, such as drama staging or poetry readings that have to obtain permission from the security forces. Moreover, to carry out demonstrations in the streets. Again, the reason behind all of them are to maintain political stability.

From all of the above facts, it can be said that performance of the political system that took place during the time, was always work on some basic assumptions that remained even maintained its legitimacy through certain historical claims. Because the basic

assumptions and the historical claims are part of hegemony of thought and language, which routinely disseminated to public mind from time to time, they are accepted into something that looks as if fair. They were also possible because information channel is fully controlled by the government, without being able to offset by alternative channels. In that context, it is understood that the actions of student protest and free speech performed at many campuses, emerged as a counter or rejection to all of the basic assumptions and the historical claims of legitimacy that have been maintained.

Various jargon, slogans, posters, graffiti acts performed by the students, clearly shows counters or rejections.

In addition to gain strong foundation as Indonesian was hit by the crisis, students voiced demands for reform currently is also in line with demands brought by globalization. Because besides the demands of all countries to adjust their economy to be able to exist in the dynamics of free market, globalization also requires political system adjustment to be able to sustain their economy. What required by the students is increasingly relevant today, if be remembered that in addition to economic globalization, there is stronger tendency of emergence of the so-called "globalization of values" and the "globali-zation of common-shared concern" today; in forms of democratization, human rights, and environmental conservation. These values have been considered as universal values that should be adopted by all civilized countries today, if we want to continue to exist and play a role in the globalization arena characterized by high intensity of competition among nations.

These values are parts of the current demands of the Indonesian students who are struggling for reform.

Thirdly, Ensuring of Human Rights

Indonesia is located in the midst of the warmth or the momentum of talks about reform, here is a writing that explore breadth of reforms in legal field. Perhaps, this rather extensive discussion can enrich the understanding of intricacies of the legal reform as one of inputs for quality reform. Even to talk about breadth of the legal reform, but this paper has not pretensions at all to cover all of them.³⁵

We can say that revisions in the laws, which means replacing the old laws with the new ones, however, it is not reform, and therefore we can not use the word: reformation. Recently, for example, there has issued a new Police Act, the Act of 1997 replaced the old one, the Act of 1966. If we read, it can briefly be said that the new police law force to improve the old one to better suit present context of positive law. There has not found sufficient substantive changes, so that, the changes can not be called as a reformation.

Reformation in the police sector is happened, if the new police law issuing (sorting) the Police Forces, or if the police management to be overhauled so it is no longer central but left to the executive chief in local area. It is only in that issue we can talk about reform of Indonesian police. Of course, for such reform can not just change

³⁵ Satjipto Rahardjo, "Keluasan Reformasi Hukum," *Kompas Newspaper*, May 8, 1998.

one law, but a large amount of legislation related to the police. So, if the police wanted to be removed from the Armed Forces, the reformation also need to change the Basic Law on Defense and State Security (UU No. 20/1982).

Thus, reformation is not just a change, or not exactly equal to change. Legal reform is a change in the law with certain fundamental qualities. Reform is the change of paradigmatic quality. For decades, people have a lot of negative practices in field of law, but the experience is one by one not enough to drive the reformation. Observing current social atmosphere, we are compelled to say that in public there has been large amount accumulation of experience into one large aggregate. By using Thomas Kuhn's term, so small piece negative practices are still have to wait for momentum to clump together into a magnitude that eventually explode and drive the demands of reformation. A small number of negative practices finally stereotyped to Indonesian law, which is declined and damaged. The damages then that we seen, and then pushed us to make reforms. The Reformation is a paradigmatic change!

The presence of a widespread feeling that the laws do not perform their functions properly. Law should bring justice and order, but the reality is not. So, its context is practice of the laws. If we follow and study news in mass media, for instance, it can be noted that a number of (not small!) data on court decisions in a dispute over won the government versus people. However, to be accepted and to be respected, the law requires public trust.

The trust grows naturally and can not be forced. The trust is be formed interactively between the governing and the governed; among the legislative, the executive, and the judicative on the one hand, and people on the other hand. Then, law that perceived lack of justice and protection to the people can not be forced to gain the public trust. Lack of functioning laws in its capacity to deliver justice and to protect people, is also observed in the executive domain. An assessment of the situation is often ejected from speeches said that government officials are arrogant, the government does not serve, but is served, and so on.

Surely, it would be very painful, if there be touted Pancasilaist behaviors, but people have to face the authoritarian or semi-authoritarian situation and attitudes. Of even greater concern is that the news concerning negative irregularity and manipulation in law enforcement, as in land administration, no longer producing an uncomfortable and embarrassed feeling. As if the negative behaviors have become common place and therefore do not need to be regarded as an embarrassing aberration that have to be dealt with immediately.

In a normal condition, the negative news and the deviations mentioned above, immediately cause stirs, but in Indonesia people read them as regular events. As if we are all powerless to resist all of these negative things.³⁶ That the damage occurred in all fundamental elements of law, those are law-makings, judicials, and law enforce-ments. The demands for reform were arised because the

³⁶ See, “Sindrom Muladi,” *Kompas Newspaper*, April 9, 1998.

space that able to accommodate all of the current negative practices have reached their limit. One indication of them is participation of intellectuals in campus to join the student demonstrations. These important changes which never been experienced before by Indonesian, and their meanings actually should be captured by the government.

Reform is not illegal, the reform only really qualified overhaul, if not falling into anarchy. It needs clear targets. Without the targets, then it is only going to be a movement against the status quo. Legal reform is not illegal movement but be directed toward clear targets. The targets are measures of the reformation movement.

The targets are all of social, political, economic ideal and ideas, as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. By maintaining these targets, the reform will have a clear structure and a quality reform (genuine reformation).

By set the 1945 constitution as a standard, it can be said that all irregularity, damage, and negative practice during the time, are distortions of the 1945 Constitution.

In order to view them as deviation, it would require substantial, rather than formal approach. These deviations may not have normative unconstitutional quality, but it could be really deviations with unconstitutional quality, substantiation of the 1945 Constitution itself is the one gives encouragement and strength to carry out the reforms. Because structure of the 1945 Constitution does not philosophize on paper, but the law is fact of quality that

can be seen from philosophy of the 1945 Constitution, which put more pressure on spiritual rather than legal elements, in the Constitution said that, "It is very important in government and in matters of state life, namely the spirit, the spirit of organizers of the country, the spirit of government leaders. Although the Constitution made that its words are familial, if spirit of the state organizers, government leaders are individual, the constitution said that they certainly would no mean in practice.

In contrast, although the Constitution is not perfect, but if spirits of the organizers of government are good, the Indonesian Constitution will not stand in its way. So, the most important is the spirit." There is desired legal reform, because the government and society have much to deviate from the spirit. The 1945 Constitution suggest not to get stuck into the world of mere rules, but to get substantial realization. It also means that moral law is much more important than providing rules. The occurrence of current law reform movements caused by low moral commitments to honestly realize substances of the law. The 1945 Constitution is a formal and substantial source of current law reform demands. in the 1945 Constitution stored in powerful forces to always make changes toward the dreamed society and life. The 1945 Constitution is a constitution that very aware of changes and dynamics. Type of the 1945 Constitution does not belong to formal, but substantial constitution.

The New Order had belonged to the whole of Indonesian at the time they want reform in the mid of 1960's. Overhaul reforms

were going in economic, political, and legal sectors at that time. Specifically in legal sectors we can note that the call back to the purification of the 1945 Constitution". The call was compacting problems in legal sectors, namely desire to make laws as means toward achievement of reliable justice and order. If we see the speeches in 1966-67, we find much in common with issues that are fighting now. From the above discussion, we have valuable experience, namely that the reform could also fail. If in 1998 was still talked about reforming the law, then it means that the reform of the anno law in 1967 has failed. The significant failure in here lied in our inability to properly implement honest messages, philosophy, and important principles in the 1945 Constitution into practice. As stated above, the important principle is spirit.

The legal culture implied in the 1945 Constitution, began to come in and be counted as a component of the legal system in studies of law, it was in 1960s. Thus, drafters of the 1945 Constitution were thinking more advanced than studies of law themselves. The drafters of the 1945 Constitution did not follow the positivist school of thought from Hart, Austin, and Kelsen, but from Lon Fuller. If Hart and his colleagues emphasize a formal legalism, so Fuller argued that the law is not simply judged by formal-rational standards, it has to contain morality (internal morality). Rule of law to the rule of morality is characteristic of the legal system of Pancasila.³⁷

³⁷ For instance, please see Satjipto Rahardjo, "Renungan Pasca-Ramadhan Perihal Kelemahan Hukum," *Kompas Newspaper*, April 27, 1991; "Hukum

If the era of reforms ended the governance practices in 1960-1965 were claiming establishment of a New Order, they certainly would not to claim current reform as the building of the Most New Order. The New Order originally had been trying to restructure Indonesian laws in accordance with wishes of the 1945 Constitution, such as preparation of various laws as ordered by the 1945 Constitution. But then again, Hart's version of legal reform was not enough and still have to enter a Fuller's version, which actually has been done since the founding of the Republic of Indonesia ordered by the 1945 Constitution.

Legal reform will not succeed, if it does not take place in a synergic atmosphere. This means that legal reform requires a support of conducive environment. Public sectors are connected and arranged structurally and systemically. Laws are embedded into social, political, and cultural habitats. Every legal order has its own habitat. So, reforms in the laws can not be done without conducting reforms in social, political, and other sectors. People can not build a democratic law in an authoritarian political atmosphere. In an authoritarian habitat, then the law tends to be filled and executed as such. The 1945 Constitution has expressed the phenomenon in a simple word but very striking, that is about the need of spirits placed in the legal reform context. So, development of democratic law, become no or less successful in the authoritarian spirit.

Membutuhkan Dedikasi", *Kompas Newspaper*, August 7, 1991; "Suatu Versi Indonesia tentang Rule of Law", *Kompas Newspaper*, November 8, 1993.

The New Order's errors in law development are its emphasis on formal-legal change and thought that was enough and reforms already implemented. But actually with the strategy proved that the New Order did not or not yet understand thoroughly characters of the law state according to the 1945 Constitution, which emphasizes moral and behavioral aspects of law. Currently, public criticizes the law-making, law-enforcement, and judicial reform, which then requiring reforms, so its point lies in the empty of moral and ideal aspects of the law mentioned above. People have become less vigilant, that only if they through seeing on the formal aspects, people can fall into serious errors. That is what experienced now. People should remember that history has giving a valuable lesson to the world, about how the law state of Nazi German could arise as a gruesome monster state. It turned out that law state without moral commitment can bring to serious disaster. Emphasizing of moral force above forces of law can be an important deterrent power against all interventions as such. Sociologically, law is open to be mocked by interests and power, and only honesty, commitment, dedication, which can still be expected to be able to do it. History teaches people about commitments to moral of the nations succeeded in establishing their law, like the spirit of gentlemen (in UK) and the spirit of bushido (in Japan). Because without involvement of the aspects are likely to come, people will constantly need to reform the current laws that can not be well resolved today. Indeed, dynamics of the society and the world can not be avoided, but a true reform is different from doing it wrong.

Both the Holy Quran and the Al-Hadith stated that Islam hates injustice and, in turn, requires man to justice. Even, they asserted that just attitudes are the nearest road to reach the godly dignity.³⁸ Particularly, the actions condemned unjust by the God (Allah) are love or hate attitudes only based on passions, which one of its manifestation is racism sentiments and attitudes.³⁹ Again and again, it is stated in the Holy Quran and the Hadith that plurality of ethnic, language and religion is God's will and design.⁴⁰ Anyone who would deny them is denying *sunatullah* (the God's will). What demanded by God is instead of creating uniformity in the way of negate or destroy ethnic, religious and cultural differences from us, but man should participate in each race to do good actions, that plurality is an asset for the growth of a social synergy in order to create a more civilized life and full of grace. Theologically, historically and sociologically, especially in the global era, that are illusion, pettiness and egoistic thinking and less civilized, if people are still thinking to realize a monolithic and homogeneous society. The modern era is an era of openness that particularly characterized by plurality of cultures, ethnicities and religions. Without readiness of mental, moral and intellectual to working with different groups of society or nations, they will be eliminated by them-selves.

It's just that, the trend of pluralism have to be accompanied by development of strong social and political ethics. If not, then one

³⁸ The Holy Qur'an, Al-Maa-idah: 8.

³⁹ Komaruddin Hidayat, "Islam Mengancam Rasialisme", *Kompas Newspaper*, May 18, 1998.

⁴⁰ The Holy Qur'an, Al-Maaidah: 48; Ar-Ruum: 22.

emerging result is what we saw. Due to lack of political and economic ethics of the rulers and businessmen, then comes social dissent and resistance against the state, and in this issue, the most exposed ethnic groups to the sapis are the Chinese descendants who do not necessarily do wrong. Indeed, there is a group of the descendants who deserve to be held responsible for the wealth they have. Also behaviors of those who like to buy some of our state apparatus. But, how many of the Chinese descendants who have suffered mentally and economically in the recent riots caused by mass anarchist actions of rioters and because of despotic behaviors by some citizens of Chinese descent?

One form of despotic actions is act of collusion with the *pribumi* (natives) who were in power, although actually the term of the *pribumi* (native) and the *non-pribumi* (non-native/descendants); and also the majority and the minority are unpleasant expressions to hear. Various fretfulness occurred in Indonesia is unfair that they only addressed to a group of descendants, the Chinese. They are willing and happy to bribe as they are supported by Indonesian leaders who are fond of bribery, even have bribe predatory mental.⁴¹

In addition to the inviting concern phenomenon, there were religious symbols (Islam) used by the store owners to avoid wrath of the masses. So, there written big on fences and doors, such as: Belongs to the *pribumi* (native), Muslim Family, and other symbols, such as in form of calligraphy of prayer rugs hanging in front of

⁴¹ See, Komaruddin Hidayat, "Islam Mengecam Rasialisme."

their house. Because they were deemed effective, the way had have been repeatedly performed and repeated in every emerging civil riots, in which homes of Chinese ethnics are always be targeted. If we observe, the arising SARA (primordial) issues could not be separated from consequences of political failure of the New Order's in creating of political and economic justice, consciously or not, the government has conditioned the emergence of horizontal conflict to keep its status quo power, but the vertical criticism always been treated firmly and thoroughly.

All religious teachings would condemn racist sentiment, especially if the sentiment has turned into ethnic cleansing actions. However, it is certainly not correct to conclude that Indonesian Muslims are anti-China. The Indonesian government should be able to learn from Malaysia's experiences in creating of a harmonious, dynamic and fair competition between the Malaysian and the Chinese, Muslim and non-Muslims, so that, potential conflicts can be kept to a minimum level. A phenomenal situation in Indonesia during the New Order is the authority was easy to provide facilities of economic enterprises for the Chinese descendant citizens, but instead it was difficult for *pribumi* (indigenous/native) entrepreneurs. Up to here, it really does not matter if it has unfollowed by various very popular forms of distortion, namely: corruption, collusion and nepotism. Those's results could be seen together by us today.

The result is injustices committed by group of people in a circle around the center of power, then, the people must bear the

pain. Even dignity and worth of the nation experiencing a drastic devaluation in world eyes along with the fall of the IDR value. This fact can not be separated from political policies of the New Order, which greatly emphasis on physical development, but very little concern for building of the national character.

Along with more fragile of support legs of development engine in the country, Indonesian foreign policy agenda marked by diplomacy to borrow money to boost the economic crisis caused by corruption, collusion and nepotism. It means, through common sense logics, the New Order government to borrow everywhere to cover the debt crisis due to corruption occurred during the New Order government era. So, if people in the position of the prospective lenders, how the people looks at the government? People will think twice to lend money to a government that have low credibility and accountability. It is very natural that the Indonesian harassed by other nations. How might to expect respects from other nations if the Indonesian themselves are no longer have self-esteem?

Reviewing the racism sentiments, symbols of populism, religious aspiration and ethnicity, which arise during the riots (including the case of Ambon, Maluku), we can conclude that the real and fundamental motive is demands for social, political and economic justice. During this process, people feel to be alienated from political processes, relatively be deprived in economy, and even they become developmentalism victims, which it assess favored elites and particular ethnic groups.

For too long the people hear and know the development rhetorics. Now, people are waiting for a clear agenda, firm, and plans of the reform programs. However, if the reform takes place, accompanied by repression and violence, either from above or from below, from the side or from any direction, then the ideas of reform will be broken in the middle of road. Automatically, secular modernism's obsession, stability and militarism will be sustainable and preserve the condition that thus becomes targets of the reformation. In 2000, people were waiting to see how Gus Dur government implementing the agenda of total reforms, from issues of eradication of corruption, collusion, and nepotism until issues of human rights abuses and environmental destruction. Also how the Gus Dur government's performance in meeting of basic needs of the people, bring a sense of justice and national reconciliation as well as empower the ummah (Muslim community) in facing of today's crises.

The history of Rasulullah (the prophet Muhammad) in building of the Medina State is frequently articulated by Gus Dur and Cak Nur (Nurcholish Madjid), it could be a reference to reestablish the pluralistic Republic from collapse and systemic crisis. Reinterpretation and deconstruction of the Medina State contextualized with contemporary situation of Indonesia, may need to be tested and to be re-checked by us.

Civil State or The Medina State?

The new millennium is dominated by spreading of global capitalism and collapsing of international communism. Democracy

and pluralism replaced authoritarianism and uniformity. Indonesia can not be separated from what Anthony Giddens called as the run away world. I think, in contemporary Indonesia, development and freedom, to borrow a Soedjatmoko's phrase, can not be separated, and can not urge the state and the society necessarily to search.

Capitalism and democracy produce energy and creativity brought prosperity, progress, and liberation. However, capitalism and democracy have produced many victims. A political scientist, Fareed Zakaria, editor of the Foreign Affairs journal reminded that capitalism and democracy are also destructive forces. Even, western societies recognize capitalism and democracy destroying the old order, hierarchy, community, career, stability and even peace of mind and heart.

In Indonesia, a periphery capitalist state, in this new millennium. We are also worth to ask: How the Muslim (Islam) should address the ethnic-religious violence in Molucca, separatist movements in Aceh, Papua, Riau and so on? How can Indonesian leaders bring the nation to escape from economic crisis that be faced dilemmatically? How to ask accountability for corruption, collusion, and unfair as well as breaking the law practices? And how to resolve the existing dilemma?

Capitalism in Indonesia clearly has failed to humanize people. Dehumanization is running badly. The Reformation Order under Pre-sident Abdurrahman Wahid threatened by shaky and be wildered by dehumanization. Those are marked by growing of un-

employment, widespread poverty, socio-economic crisis and continuing political turmoil, and also strengthening of separatism.

Through rapid changes in society and social values, many people, especially young people who have got modern education, looking for solutions based on ideology in form of new beliefs and compelling reasons to address the challenges posed by believes those they inherited from their families and groups. And in this period, they can see in the political parties. Today, ideology of socialism, capitalism and Islam become most talked among activists and party elites. So, the competition among these parties is an ideological battle of system of ideas.

With a view to capitalism and socialism as an ideology and socio-economic models proved have weaknesses, it is useful to explore the discourse of law based on the Medina Charter (Islam) as a solution to the prevalent problems of nationality and statehood, such issues of Molucca, Mataram, Aceh, Papua and so on. Islamic state in the Islamic type is a state that makes the Shari'a law (Islamic law) as its foundation. Malcolm H. Kerr, as cited by Thahir Azhary, named it by the term of Islamic nomocracy. *Siyasa diniyah* characteristics or law state based on Islam, according to Ibn Khaldun, it is a state based on the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah, as well as human ingenuity that also helped to play role and function in life of the state. The human mind meant is *ijma'* of scholars/clerics and *qiyas*. So that, the Islamic nomocracy state or the Medina state (Islam), is a State of Islamic Scholars/Clerics.

Waqar Ahmed Husaini, an Islamic intellectual, noted that Islamic nomocracy aims to bring universal welfare society, both globally and in the hereafter (*al-kaffah al-masalih*). Husaini even use the term of "Sharia State" to *siyasa diniyah* or Islamic nomocracy. This is because the law in Islamic jurisprudence known as Sharia.

According to Ibn Khaldun's the best and the most ideal type of state is *siyasa diniyah* or Islamic nomocracy because it is not only based on the law as a result of human ratio, but also regarding the law that comes from revelation.

Ibn Khaldun preferred the form of Islamic nomocracy or in his phrase, *siyasa diniyah*, as "the only form of political and cultural permanence". The Medina State (Islam) as such is the ideal goal of all mankind.

Based on theoretical framework of the Islamic nomocracy (*rechstaat*), the ideal type of Ibnu Khaldun's *siyasa diniyah*, which then become subject of debate on the Medina State, it is time to reopen the debate. If Islamic political parties missed the debate, then their presence would lose its significance. Furthermore, beyond that, ideologically, the Islamic parties do not take sides at all to Islam, if they do not promote the concept of the Medina State and its implementation in Indonesia.

At least, Indonesian people and the country during the era of President Abdurrahman Wahid, don't need to taboos and phobic to utilize and to explore sources of the Medina Charter (the al Quran and the Sunnah, plus human ratio) as state values and principles as well as national legal order. Moreover, Fareed Zakaria (and

Anthony Giddens) have warned us that capitalism and socialism do not guarantee realization of a just, emancipatory and humanist society. Therefore, the phobia against Islam have to be abandoned by the communities (Muslim and Non-Muslim), so that we can enrich treasures of life of the nation-state by using values and inspirations of the Medina state, to uphold rule of law, good governance and social justice, in order to prevent break up in global competition arena.

The Medina state in Indonesia context, will guarantee all ethnics, religions and believes, and also would not cause majority dictatorship because there is check and balance among legislative, judicative, and executive institutions, and keep balance between state and society as well.

Madani (Civil) or Medina?

As a participatory political system, validating equality among people, then democracy may be the "best" structure ever. And it is not surprising if experiences and experiments of democracy in the ancient Greece became an ideal model for thinkers and political theorists in modern times. However, there is one more concept that deserves to be discourse and discussion of their ideals for the future of Indonesia, it is the Medina State. The Medina state is an alternative to capitalism in facing of malignancy at global, regional and national levels, which have led to dehumanization, Peter Berger called them as the very great pyramid of human sacrifice or Herbert Marcuse called them as what have constructed human

being to be "one dimensional man".

To start the discourse on the Medina state, which differ almost 180 degrees with the civil state or civil society, it is necessary to have a theoretical explanation. Based on Prof. Dr. Muhammad Tahir Azhary's discourse, we see that Indonesian Muslims, through Islamic political parties are need to revive ideas of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), whose recognized authority, both as a thinker on state and as a historian and founder of sociology. In his book, Ibn Khaldun discovered a typology of state with benchmark of power (*al-mulk*). He classified state into two groups: 1) the state with natural power characteristics (*mulk tabi'i*) or traditional state, and 2) the state with political power characteristics (*mulk siyasi*) or modern state.

The type of natural state characterized by arbitrary and authoritarian (despotism) power and tend to the "law of the jungle", in which there are instrumental and strength excellence, laws are only used to entrap neck of the oppressed, while the ruling elites are free to sin and sinners, and ignore will and principle of justice: economic, social and political justice. He called the such natural state as uncivilized state.

Meanwhile, the modern state is based on typology of political power classified into three kinds: (1) law state or Islamic nomocracy (*siyasa diniyah*), (2) secular law state (*siyasa 'aqliyah*), and (3) "The Republic" state in Plato-style (*siyasa Madaniyah*). Civilized nations that being mentioned latter is a form of secular state maintained by Muslim politicians working together, shoulder to shoulder with secular people in form of a "secular state" in a frame of nationalism.

And that's considerably fine.

Law state in the first type is a state that makes the Shari'ah (Islamic law) as its foundation. Malcolm H. Kerr, as cited by Thahir Azhary, named it by the term of Islamic nomocracy. Characteristics of *siyasa diniyah* or law state based on Islam according to Ibn Khaldun is a state based on the Holy Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, as well as human mind that also play roles and functions in the state. The human mind meant is *ijma'* of ulama (clerics and scholars) and *qiyas*. So, Islamic nomocracy state or Islamic state is a state of scholars. Waqar Ahmed Husaini noted that Islamic nomocracy aims to bring universal public welfare, both globally and in the hereafter (*al-kaffah al-masalih*). Ahmad Husaini even use the term of "Sharia state" to *siyasa diniyah* or Islamic nomocracy. This is because the law in Islamic jurisprudence known as Sharia.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the best type and the most ideal of state among *siyasa diniyah*, *siyasa 'aqliyah*, and *siyasa Madaniyah*, is the *siyasa diniyah* or Islamic nomocracy. *Siyasa 'aqliyah* only based on the law as a result of human ratio without regarding laws that comes from revelation. The state as such can be seen in Western democracies, generally in Europe and America. *Siyasa Madaniyah* (Plato Republic style) is a state ruled by a handful of the most elite group over the most group of slaves who have no right to vote. The civil state, we can take a look at the time of the 1950's Parliamentary Democracy under Sukarno.

While, the Medina State as the best archetype in modern times is a concept of the *siyasa diniyah*, which also had been founded and

proclaimed by Hasan Turabi in Sudan, the late Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Pakistan and the late SM Kartosoewiryo in Indonesia. They tried to idealize the Medina state, not the Civil State, which actually is a secular state. The Medina state that Ibn Khaldun conceive it, is much like Islamic nomocracy or *siyasa diniyah* as "the only form of permanent political and cultural word." In Muslim eyes, said Majid Khadduri, The Medina State as such is the ideal goal of Muslim majority with their diversity of imagination and interpretation.

In Indonesia, if Islamic political parties missed the debate, so their presence would lose its significance. And, beyond that, ideologically, Islamic parties are not impartial at all in Islam if they do not propose the concept of the Medina State and its implementation in Indonesia. We are sure that no one of Islamic political party leaders have ever debated between the Medina State concepts and the Civil (Secular) State before. Because from many of their statements, indicating that they do not have slightest knowledge about the system of states. If aspirations of the people left to vote who like the present figures of the Islamic political parties, then it means the same as people surrender and soul be given to lion and crocodile minded politicians. Thus, it is not exaggeration, to use the Samuel Huntington's theoretical concept, the clash of civilization, it can be argued that there is class between the "civil" civilization and the "medina" civilization, today, we call it as ideological struggle between ideological concepts of the secular state and the religious

(Islamic) state, between Islamic political parties and secular political parties.

In my opinion, based on the Ibn Khaldun's theory of Islamic nomocracy (*rechstaat*) on *siyasa diniyah*, which the most ideal type is *mulk siyasi*. The debate about the Medina state is now waiting by the political public. However, to bring this discourse of the Medina State to public sphere for open and fair debate today, it is difficult and depends on the situation, history and objective reality surrounding them.

The Medina State

Among Indonesian Muslim, the discourse on the Medina State Constitution and The Medina State is conversant. In the President Abdurrahman Wahid era (until the President SBY era) today, the discourse has been rampant in campuses, Islamic movements and mosque activists. Perhaps, there is only one of the most ideal Islamic state, namely the Medina State with its Medina Charter in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. However, for most, the Medina State is almost like a "fairy tale" though it abide in history.

To avoid "the process to not become fairy tale (*dongengisasi*)," it's good then filed another example of an Islamic state in the heart of Europe: Spain days of Islam (Islamic Spain). The Muslim country and Muslims in Spain is one of the most distant regions from the heart of Islamic world, but it was very tolerant. Bernard Lewis pointed out that the earlier Islam actually tend to be more tolerant than the more recent Islam. In the early Islamic period, many social

interactions taken place smoothly among Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Although have different religions, they form a society, in which interpersonal friendship, partnership in business, teacher-student relationship in life sciences, and other forms of joint activities taken place normally and even very commonly.

Cultural cooperation was evident in many ways. Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived in an atmosphere of civilization, mutual respect, and mutually develop sciences and arts. There is no discrimination at all. Therefore, the issue of pluralism is a matter of how Muslims adapt themselves to the modern world.

This issue will inevitably involve matters of how they perceive and assess the history of Islam, and how they see and assess the change and the need to bring in normative and universal values of Islam into dialogue with realities of space and time.

History of Muslim, as well as histories of any community of human beings, always have potential to make mistakes or turn from the right path. Besides because of simple truism as the English poet, Alexander Pope, said that "errors are humane," all history is self-evident human history, and no ordinary man who sacred and holy.

In short, human being is basically kind, but too weak. In regarding with this weakness, human beings have potential to transform themselves into a tyrant, at any time they are viewing themselves as self-sufficiency and no longer need to other human beings.

To this principle, should be added also to the most prominent teaching of Islam that in the beginning of mankind is one, and that

all people are basically equal. In this case, classical Muslims as in Spain have managed to fully internalize the conception of positive and optimistic man, as stated above. A conception that then makes them highly cosmopolit and universalist community, so, they are willing to learn and to accept all of valuable experiences of other communities.

Thus, roles of the early Muslims as one of community who internationalize sciences. In every civilization, certain people researching to the nature itself about causes of implicated changes, rather than on humans or non-human willingness. Nevertheless, before the Arabs inherited the Greek natural philosophy and Chinese alkeni, and then forward it to the West, there is no single body of natural science that passed from one civilization to another civilization.

Instead, in every civilization, the study on nature follow its own path. Greece and Chinese philosophers gave different explanations of the same physical world. Most of results of the efforts have firstly absorbed by Islam, which from the 750 AD until the late Middle Ages stretched from Spain to Turkestan. Arabs integrating a wide body of knowledge and add to it.

In another agreement, it is also expressed similar way: it is advantage of the Arabs, that although they are the military and the political winners, they did not look at civilization of the countries they conquered with contempt attitudes, and even Islam respect for plurality and cultures existing in the communities. As an illustration, soon after discovered the cultural riches Syrians, Persians, and

Hindus copy, they wrote them into Arabic. The caliphs, governors, and other figures who sympathize scholars carried out the translations, so that, collection of non-Islamic sciences (non-Islamic learning) were widely available in Arabic. The spirit of pluralism had been developed and tolerance had been upheld by enriched intellectual treasures.

In the context of Indonesia under President Abdurrahman Wahid, in which various diversity experiencing thinning and broking out riots, from Ambon, Molucca, Mataram to other areas, we no longer need to ask about the plurality of Christians, Muslims and Jews, the three Abrahamic faiths. What needed was Gus Dur leadership to overcome the economic, social and political-ideological crises, by utilizing the plurality, the government should not have breakdown of economic, political and social-cultural policy making, which can actually lead to horizontal conflicts in middle to lower levels. At this level of, the principles and values of the Medina State (the Medina Charter) frequently articulated by Gus Dur (and Cak Nurcholish Madjid), should be practiced and socialized by the Gus Dur government to prevent misunderstanding and phobia about Islam among non-Muslims, and also it can be minimized.

Hopefully what is presented here may slightly reduce the fear to shadows of the Medina State (Islam) in Indonesia, where in the Gus Dur presidency era (1999-2001), Muslim figures become leaders, they are Gus Dur, Amien Rais (Chairman of MPR) and Akbar Tanjung (Chairman of DPR). At discursive level, Islamo-

phobia should be addressed through understanding of science, reason and logic. Islam guarantees pluralism. Isn't *Islam rahmatan lil alamin*?

THE MEDINA CHARTER¹

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Full Text of the The Medina Charter

1. This is a document from Muhammad the Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace), governing relations between the Believers i.e. Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib and those who followed them and worked hard with them. They form one nation -- Ummah.
2. The Quraysh Mohajireen will continue to pay blood money, according to their present custom.
3. In case of war with any body they will redeem their prisoners with kindness and justice common among Believers. (Not according to pre-Islamic nations where the rich and the poor were treated differently).
4. The Bani Awf will decide the blood money, within themselves, according to their existing custom.
5. In case of war with anybody all parties other than Muslims will redeem their prisoners with kindness and justice according to practice among Believers and not in accordance with pre-Islamic notions.
6. The Bani Saeeda, the Bani Harith, the Bani Jusham and the Bani Najjar will be governed on the lines of the above (principles)

¹ Cited from Mohammad S. El. Awa, *Sistem Politik Dalam Pemerintahan Islam*, tr. Anshari Thayib (Surabaya: PT. Bina Ilmu, 1983).

7. The Bani Amr, Bani Awf, Bani Al-Nabeet, and Bani Al-Aws will be governed in the same manner.
8. Believers will not fail to redeem their prisoners they will pay blood money on their behalf. It will be a common responsibility of the Ummat and not of the family of the prisoners to pay blood money.
9. A Believer will not make the freedman of another Believer as his ally against the wishes of the other Believers.
10. The Believers, who fear Allah, will oppose the rebellious elements and those that encourage injustice or sin, or enmity or corruption among Believers.
11. If anyone is guilty of any such act all the Believers will oppose him even if he be the son of any one of them.
12. A Believer will not kill another Believer, for the sake of an un-Believer. (i.e. even though the un-Believer is his close relative).
13. No Believer will help an un-Believer against a Believer.
14. Protection (when given) in the Name of Allah will be common. The weakest among Believers may give protection (In the Name of Allah) and it will be binding on all Believers.
15. Believers are all friends to each other to the exclusion of all others.
16. Those Jews who follow the Believers will be helped and will be treated with equality. (Social, legal and economic equality is promised to all loyal citizens of the State).
17. No Jew will be wronged for being a Jew.
18. The enemies of the Jews who follow us will not be helped.

19. The peace of the Believers (of the State of Madinah) cannot be divided. (it is either peace or war for all. It cannot be that a part of the population is at war with the outsiders and a part is at peace).
20. No separate peace will be made by anyone in Madinah when Believers are fighting in the Path of Allah.
21. Conditions of peace and war and the accompanying ease or hardships must be fair and equitable to all citizens alike.
22. When going out on expeditions a rider must take his fellow member of the Army-share his ride.
23. The Believers must avenge the blood of one another when fighting in the Path of Allah (This clause was to remind those in front of whom there may be less severe fighting that the cause was common to all. This also meant that although each battle appeared a separate entity it was in fact a part of the War, which affected all Muslims equally).
24. The Believers (because they fear Allah) are better in showing steadfastness and as a result receive guidance from Allah in this respect. Others must also aspire to come up to the same standard of steadfastness.
25. No un-Believer will be permitted to take the property of the Quraysh (the enemy) under his protection. Enemy property must be surrendered to the State.
26. No un-Believer will intervene in favour of a Quraysh, (because the Quraysh having declared war are the enemy).

27. If any un-believer kills a Believer, without good cause, he shall be killed in return, unless the next of kin are satisfied (as it creates law and order problems and weakens the defence of the State). All Believers shall be against such a wrong-doer. No Believer will be allowed to shelter such a man.
28. When you differ on anything (regarding this Document) the matter shall be referred to Allah and Muhammad (may Allah bless him and grant him peace).
29. The Jews will contribute towards the war when fighting alongside the Believers.
30. The Jews of Bani Awf will be treated as one community with the Believers. The Jews have their religion. This will also apply to their freedmen. The exception will be those who act unjustly and sinfully. By so doing they wrong themselves and their families.
31. The same applies to Jews of Bani Al-Najjar, Bani Al Harith, Bani Saeeda, Bani Jusham, Bani Al Aws, Thaalba, and the Jaffna, (a clan of the Bani Thaalba) and the Bani Al Shutayba.
32. Loyalty gives protection against treachery. (loyal people are protected by their friends against treachery. As long as a person remains loyal to the State he is not likely to succumb to the ideas of being treacherous. He protects himself against weakness).
33. The freedmen of Thaalba will be afforded the same status as Thaalba themselves. This status is for fair dealings and full justice as a right and equal responsibility for military service.

34. Those in alliance with the Jews will be given the same treatment as the Jews.
35. No one (no tribe which is party to the Pact) shall go to war except with the permission of Muhammed (may Allah bless him and grant him peace). If any wrong has been done to any person or party it may be avenged.
36. Any one who kills another without warning (there being no just cause for it) amounts to his slaying himself and his household, unless the killing was done due to a wrong being done to him.
37. The Jews must bear their own expenses (in War) and the Muslims bear their expenses.
38. If anyone attacks anyone who is a party to this Pact the other must come to his help.
39. They (parties to this Pact) must seek mutual advice and consultation.
40. Loyalty gives protection against treachery. Those who avoid mutual consultation do so because of lack of sincerity and loyalty.
41. A man will not be made liable for misdeeds of his ally.
42. Anyone (any individual or party) who is wronged must be helped.
43. The Jews must pay (for war) with the Muslims. (this clause appears to be for occasions when Jews are not taking part in the war. Clause 37 deals with occasions when they are taking part in war).
44. Yathrib will be Sanctuary for the people of this Pact.

45. A stranger (individual) who has been given protection (by anyone party to this Pact) will be treated as his host (who has given him protection) while (he is) doing no harm and is not committing any crime. Those given protection but indulging in anti-state activities will be liable to punishment.
46. A woman will be given protection only with the consent of her family (Guardian). (a good precaution to avoid inter-tribal conflicts).
47. In case of any dispute or controversy, which may result in trouble the matter must be referred to Allah and Muhammed (may Allah bless him and grant him peace), The Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) of Allah will accept anything in this document, which is for (bringing about) piety and goodness.
48. Quraysh and their allies will not be given protection.
49. The parties to this Pact are bound to help each other in the event of an attack on Yathrib.
50. If they (the parties to the Pact other than the Muslims) are called upon to make and maintain peace (within the State) they must do so. If a similar demand (of making and maintaining peace) is made on the Muslims, it must be carried out, except when the Muslims are already engaged in a war in the Path of Allah. (so that no secret ally of the enemy can aid the enemy by calling upon Muslims to end hostilities under this clause).
51. Everyone (individual) will have his share (of treatment) in accordance with what party he belongs to. Individuals must

benefit or suffer for the good or bad deed of the group they belong to. Without such a rule party affiliations and discipline cannot be maintained.

52. The Jews of al-Aws, including their freedmen, have the same standing, as other parties to the Pact, as long as they are loyal to the Pact. Loyalty is a protection against treachery.
53. Anyone who acts loyally or otherwise does it for his own good (or loss).
54. Allah approves this Document.
55. This document will not (be employed to) protect one who is unjust or commits a crime (against other parties of the Pact).
56. Whether an individual goes out to fight (in accordance with the terms of this Pact) or remains in his home, he will be safe unless he has committed a crime or is a sinner. (i.e. No one will be punished in his individual capacity for not having gone out to fight in accordance with the terms of this Pact).
57. Allah is the Protector of the good people and those who fear Allah, and Muhammad (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) is the Messenger of Allah (He guarantees protection for those who are good and fear Allah).

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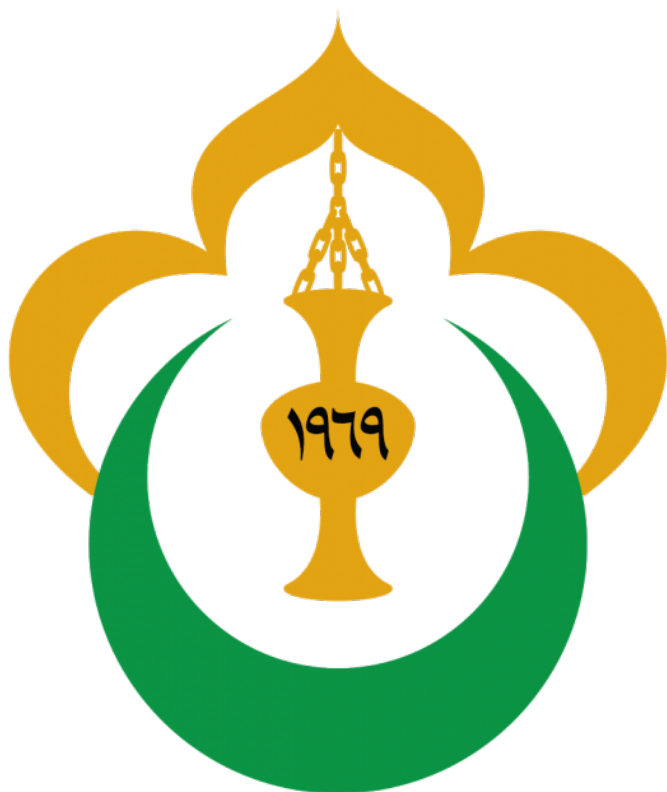
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